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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

FOR DECEMBER, 1904.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 7th December, 1904, at 9-15 P.M.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE F. E. PARGITER, B.A., I.C.S., President, in the chair.

The following members were present:—

Maulavi Abdul Wali, Mr. N. Annandale, Mr. I. H. Burkill, Major W. J. Bythell, R.E., Mr. B. L. Chaudhuri, Mr. G. C. Dudgeon, The Hon. Mr. A. Earle, Mr. D. Hooper, Dr. W. C. Hossack, Mr. J. Macfarlane, Mr. E. D. Maclagan, Kumar Ramessur Maliah, Mr. H. H. Mann, Dr. M. M. Masoom, The Hon. Mr. Justice Saroda Charan Mitra, Captain L. Rogers, I.M.S., Dr. E. D. Ross, Pandit Yogesa Chandra Shastree, Mr. E. H. Stapleton, Pandit Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana, Mr. E. Vredenburg.

Visitors:—Mr. W. M. Aders, Babu Mahendranath Gupta, Mr. M. Hill, and Rev. A. W. Young.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Twenty-four presentations were announced:—

Mr. E. G. Hill, Mr. R. Nathan and Rev. S. Endle were ballotted for and elected Ordinary Members.

The General Secretary reported the death of Dr. Emil Schlagintweit, the only Corresponding Member of the Society.

The President announced :—

1. That the Hon. Mr. Justice Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya and Dr. E. D. Ross, having returned to Calcutta had taken over charge of the duties of Treasurer and Anthropological Secretary from Mr. W. K. Dods and Mr. J. Macfarlane, respectively.

2. That Dr. Ross had been appointed to officiate as Philological Secretary during the absence of Dr. T. Bloch.

3. That Mr. N. Annandale had been appointed Anthropological Secretary in the place of Dr. Ross.

The General Secretary read a report on a find of 6 coins forwarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor with his letter No. 2296, dated 23rd June 1904, under the Treasure Trove Act.

The finds consists of :—

Rupee of Shahjahan of Tatta mint	...	...	1
Rupees of Aurangzeb of Surat mint	...	...	3
Rupee of Khambay (Cambay) mint	...	...	1
Rupee of Lucknow mint	...	...	1
			6

The General Secretary reported the presentation of the following coins :—

9 coins from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, forwarded with their letter dated 26th September, 1904.

1 coin from the Deputy Commissioner of Bhandara, forwarded with his letter No. 3979, dated 30th September, 1904.

4 coins from the Government of United Provinces, forwarded with their letters Nos. $\frac{3988}{x-c/28-1}$, $\frac{4064}{x-c/48-1}$, $\frac{4297}{x-c/44-1}$ dated 11th and 15th October and 7th November, 1904.

The Philological Secretary read an abstract relative to the Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Algiers in April, 1905.

The Oriental Congress, which met at Hamburg in 1902, fixed on Algiers as the meeting-place of the 15th Congress, and this is to take place in 1905 during the Easter holidays, under the patronage of the Governor-General of Algeria.

OFFICERS.

President.—M. René Basset, Directeur de l'École Supérieure des Lettres d'Alger, 77 rue Michelet, Mustapha, Algiers.



General Secretary.—M. Edmond Douffet, Professor in the École Supérieure des Lettres, Parc de Fontaine-Bleue, Mustapha Supérieur, Algiers.

Treasurer.—M. David, Chief of the Governor-General's Private Secretariat, Palais d'Hiver, Algiers.

SUBJECTS.

- I. India.—Aryan Languages and Indian Languages.
- II. Semitic Languages.
- III. Mussulman Languages (Arabic, Turkish, Persian).
- IV. Egypt: African Languages: Madagascar.
- V. Far East.
- VI. Greece and the East.
- VII. African Archæology and Mussulman Art.

The titles of papers intended to be read at the Congress should be sent either to the President of the Section to which they relate, or to the General Secretary, or the Assistant Secretaries.

The subscription has been fixed at 20 francs. Wives or female relations of members of the Congress who may accompany them will have a right to a ladies' ticket, value 10 francs. This ticket will entitle the holder to all the concessions which will be eventually granted to members of the Congress by Railway and Steamer Companies, but will not entitle them to the publications of the Congress.

Letters and enquiries concerning the Congress should be addressed to the General Secretary or one of the Assistant Secretaries. Names of intending members may now be sent to the Treasurer, and should be accompanied by the subscription, without which they will not receive attention. For the convenience of future members of the Congress they may also be addressed to—M. LEROUX, *Bookseller, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris.*

A number of Tibetan pictures in the possession of the Imperial Library, and of Col. Longe, R.E., and other private owners in Calcutta were exhibited.

The following papers were read:—

1. *The Lizards of the Andamans, with the description of a new Gecko and a note on the reproduced tail in Ptychozoon homalocephalum.*—By N. ANNANDALE, B.A.

(Abstract.)

Out of the nine Geckos recorded from the Andamans, five or possibly six would seem to have been carried thither by man. The remaining

three are indigenous. One of the three is very nearly related to forms on the nearest mainland; the second has Malabar affinities; and the third Madagascan. The Andamans have three Agamids: Two are endemic; the other is a common Indian garden species, but is very local in the Andaman Islands. Of Varanidae, the only species is Indo-Malayan. Of the Skinks the Andamanis have several species. One of these occurs down the east side of the Bay of Bengal; one is confined to the Andamans and the remaining species have a distribution similar to that of the *Varanus* mentioned earlier.

The author describes *Gonatodes Andersonii*—a new species.

The scales of the reproduced part of the tail, dorsal and ventral surfaces, of *Ptychozoon homocephalum* are slightly smaller than those on the uninjured part, and the dorsal tubercles are absent: also the loose membrane is narrower, asymmetric and not lobed. This last point is important, as Müller had thought the lobes of specific importance.

2. *Vidyapati Thakur*.—By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA. Communicated by the President.

(Abstract.)

The paper contains facts relating to the life and work of this poet. Some four hundred new poems have been obtained in one collection, and they are pronounced genuine; altogether some six or seven hundred poems of his are known. He lived to a very great age; but the exact dates of his birth and death cannot be ascertained, though the day of the month on which he died is known. He was appointed Raj Pandit in an age of Pandits, and showed untiring activity through his life. In a village near Darbhanga is preserved a very valuable manuscript of his poems which has been examined.

3. *The Occurrence of an Aquatic Glow-worm in India*.—By N. ANNANDALE, B.A.

Until recently the Lampyridæ were regarded as purely terrestrial and aerial beetles. The great abundance of fire-flies on the banks of Oriental rivers and swamps, especially in wet weather, and the fact that most glow-worms (generally the larvae of fire-flies) seem to affect damp situations, have led me to doubt whether this is the case in a considerable number of tropical forms, regarding the life-history of which nothing is known. In 1899¹ I first observed and collected an aquatic larval glow-worm at Patalung in Lower Siam, and I was able to confirm the observation at the same place in 1902². At the beginning of November, 1904, I brought some water-weeds from a tank in the suburbs of Calcutta, and among their roots I subsequently found

¹ P.Z.S. 1900, pp. 862-865 ² Fascic. Malay. Suppl., 1903, p. xiv.

what appears to be a second Lampyrid larva. It is not so brilliantly luminous as the Siamese form, but closely resembles it. Should I be able to rear it, I hope to publish a full description in due course. So far as I am aware, these are the only cases in which aquatic Lampyrids have been found.

I may say that I am getting together material for an account of the tank fauna of Calcutta, and will be glad to receive specimens of fresh-water animals of all kinds from the neighbourhood. If possible, arrangements will be made for their identification by specialists in Europe, unless they belong to groups which are being studied by naturalists at present in India.

4. *A note on Mahamahataka Chandeswara Thakkura of Mithila.*—By THE HON. MR. JUSTICE SARODA CHARAN MITRA.

(Abstract.)

Chandeswara Thakkura is known to lawyers as a leader of the Mithila School of the Mitakshara system of Hindu law; to Sanskrit scholars as the author of the *Saptaratnakara*, of which the law exposition is but a part, and which contains the whole duty of man. Up to the present time little has been known of him, but that he was a minister of a Raja of Mithila, named Hara Singh, and was living in 1314 A.D., thereafter going on a pilgrimage to Gujrat.

It is now found out that he came of an ancient family of Mithila Brahmins originating at a village called Visai not yet identified. His grandfather, Devaditya, was prime minister to the then Raja of Mithila, —a feudatory of the Sultan of Delhi; and his father, Vireswara, was a minister and the author of a work *Chhandoga Paddhati*. His brother was a great Pandit. Mr. Colebrooke has claimed that Chandeswara rather supervised the writing than wrote the *Ratnakara*, but there is no improbability in the general belief that he wrote it.



LIBRARY.

The following new books have been added to the Library from September to December, 1904. The continuations of all the serials and works in progress have been received.

Al-Bekri and others. [Accounts of the Russians and the Slavs. Pt. II. Selected by A. Kunik.] [In Russian.] *St. Petersburg*, 1903. 8°

Presd. by Mr. A. Kunik.

Annandale, Nelson. Contributions to the Terrestrial Zoology of the Faroes. *Edinburgh*, 1904. 8°

From the Proceedings of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh.

———. The Peoples of the Malay Peninsula. [*Edinburgh*, 1904.] 8°.

Reprinted from the Scottish Geographical Magazine.

———. Religion and Magic among the Malays of the Patani States. Part II. Ghosts and Ancestor Worship. [*London*, 1904.] 4°.

Reprinted from Fasciculi Malayenses—Anthropology.

Presd. by the Author.

ARCHAEOLOGISCH ONDERZOEK OP JAVA EN MADURA. I. Beschrijving van de ruïne bij de desa Tœmpang, genaamd Tjandi Djago, in de residentie Paseroean. Samengesteld naar de gegevens verstrekt door H. L. Leydie Melville en J. Knebel, onder leiding van Dr. J. L. A. Brandes. 's-Gravenhage, 1904. fol.

Presd. by Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.—Indië.

Ashmarin, Nicolai. [Report on the Literary Activity of the Tartar Muhammadans of Kazan from 1880 to 1895.] [In Russian.] *Moscow*. 1901. 8°.

Presd. by the Author.

AVADĀNAŚATAKA. A Century of edifying tales belonging to the Hinayāna, Edited by Dr. J. S. Speyer. *St. Petersburg*, 1903. 8°.

Bibliotheca Buddhica, III.

*Presd. by the Académie Impériale des Sciences,
St. Petersburg.*



Azara, Félix de. Geografía física y esférica de las Provincias del Paraguay, y Misiones Guaraníes. ... —manuscrito en la Biblioteca Nacional de Montevideo—Bibliografía prólogo y anotaciones por R. R. Schuller. Montevideo, 1904. 4°.

Anales del Museo Nacional de Montevideo.

Presd. by Museo Nacional de Montevideo.

Bagrat, Bishop of Tauromenia. [Georgian text of a manuscript of the 11th Century. Edited and translated by A. Khakhanoff.] [In Russian.] Moscow 1904. 8°.

*Presd. by the Lazarean Institute for Oriental Languages,
Moscow.*

Bhandarkar, S. R. Report of a tour through Central India, the Central Provinces and Rajputana, in connection with the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts. [Bombay, 1904.] fol.

Presd. by the Government of Bombay.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

ERRATA.

In Journal, Part I, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3.—1904.

Read Nagarchain for Nagarcain,

Page 276, line 22.

„ 277, lines 23, 26, 32.

„ 278 „ 30, 38.

„ 280 „ 11, 12, 29 and 37.

Read Nagarchain for Nagarchin.

Page 279, line 38.

Read Changan for Cagan.

Page 276, line 33.

„ 277 „ 33.

„ 279 „ 27.

Hasan, the founder of the dynasty, was, in his youth, a servant of Kānkū, Gāngū, or Gangū, a Brahman astrologer who enjoyed the confidence of Muḥammad-bin Tughlaq before he ascended the throne. One day, as he was ploughing some waste land for the Brahman, his plough stuck fast. On digging it out of the ground he found that it had

1 In this article the editions referred to are the following:—

Firishṭa—Bombay edition of 1832.

Badāonī—*Bibliotheca Indica* edition.

Burhān-i-Ma'āzīr and *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*—translation by Major J. S. King, Luzac & Co., 1900.

Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Vol. III.—MS. in writer's possession.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī—Newal Kishor Press edition.



JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

Extra No.—1904.

*Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty.*¹—By MAJOR W. HAIG.

[Read 2nd November, 1904.]

(1) THE ORIGIN OF THE COGNOMEN BAHMANI.

The legends commonly related by historians regarding the origin of the cognomen *Bahmanī* connect it with the name of the priestly caste of the Hindus. The story preferred by *Firishta* and repeated by *Khāfi Khān* in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* is that Hasan, the founder of the dynasty, was, in his youth, a servant of Kānkū, Gāngū, or Gangū, a Brahman astrologer who enjoyed the confidence of Muḥammad-bin Tughlaq before he ascended the throne. One day, as he was ploughing some waste land for the Brahman, his plough stuck fast. On digging it out of the ground he found that it had

¹ In this article the editions referred to are the following:—

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Burhān-i-Ma'āzīr and *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*—translation by Major J. S. King, Luzac & Co., 1900.

Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Vol. III.—MS. in writer's possession.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbari—Newal Kishor Press edition.

caught in a chain and that to the chain was attached a chest containing *āshrafis* and uncoined gold, which he took straight to his master. The Brahman was so pleased with Ḥasan's honesty that he brought him to the notice of the prince, Muḥammad-bin Tughlaq, by whose influence he obtained an appointment in the imperial service. Shortly after this the Brahman informed Ḥasan that he had cast his horoscope, and foretold that he would rise to the highest dignity. He asked him to promise that he would, when this prophecy should be fulfilled, take the name of his original benefactor as part of his title, and Ḥasan made the required promise and, when the time came, fulfilled it by styling himself, as king, "Ḥasan Kānkū-i-Bahmanī." In corroboration of this story Firishṭa records (i. 527) that Ḥasan, after being proclaimed king of the Dakan, made Kānkū the Brahman the controller of the finances of his kingdom, and that he was the first Muḥammadan ruler to employ a Brahman in so high a post.

The only authority which we have for this story is that of Firishṭa, for Khāfi Khān, being admittedly little more than a copyist so far as the affairs of the Dakan are concerned, cannot be accounted an authority. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, and the *Taḏkiratu-l-Mulūk* relate other legends, all more or less improbable, but do not commit themselves to Firishṭa's account of Ḥasan's servitude in the house of a Hindu. The predictions of his greatness are attributed variously to one Gangū, a Brahman, not said to be his master, Shaikh Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya of Dibli, and Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj-i-Junaidi, in whose service he is said to have held some post.

The titles of Ḥasan, as king of the Dakan, are variously given by historians as follows:—In Firishṭa's history (i. 525), '*Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Kānkū-i-Bahmanī*', by Khāfi Khān in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, '*Alā'u-d-dīn Kānkū-i-Bahmanī, curf Ḥasan*', by Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, '*Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh*', by 'Alī-bin 'Azāzi-'llāh Ṭabatabā in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, '*Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh Gangū-i-Bāhmanī*', and '*Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh al Valī-ul-Bahmanī*', by the author of the *Taḏkiratu-l-Mulūk*, '*Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh*', and by Badāonī in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh* (i. 231) "the Sultān who is known as Ḥasan Kānkū and at last obtained the Kingdom of the Dakan under the title of '*Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh*.'"

The title given by Badāonī and the author of the *Taḏkiratu-l-Mulūk* is correct. Ḥasan did not add to his title the epithet *Bahmanī*, but assumed the name of Bahman. There is in the fort of Gulbarga a contemporary inscription, bearing the date A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353) in which his titles are given as "'Alā'u-d-dunyā wa'd-dīn Abū'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh." The names Ḥasan and Kānkū, or Gangū, and the

epithet *Bahmanī*, which is used on the coins of his successors and is correctly applied to them only, are omitted. The inscription, which was cut while Bahman *Shāh* was still alive and reigning, and was placed over a mosque in his capital, is far better evidence of the style under which he reigned than any statements of historians. Other evidence, however, exists. I have a copper coin which bears the inscription "Aḥmad *Shāh* bin Aḥmad *Shāh* bin Bahman *Shāh*." This inscription needs some explanation—a question which will be considered hereafter—but there is no doubt that the words "*Bahman Shāh*" refer to the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. There is also the *Bahman-nāma*, a versified history of the Bahmanī kings, the authorship of which is uncertain, but which is often quoted by Firishta. The title of this history cannot refer to the epithet *Bahmanī*, but can and evidently does refer to the name *Bahman*.

The question of the title under which the founder of the Bahman dynasty assumed the sovereignty of the Dakan is important as an indication of the derivation of the name by which that dynasty is known. It is conceivable that a Muḥammadan king might have distinguished himself, from gratitude to a Brahman benefactor, by the epithet *Bahmanī*, even though that epithet is never found in its uncorrupted form *Brahmanī*, but no Muḥammadan king would have styled himself "King Brahman." The derivation of the title *Bahman Shāh* must, therefore, be sought in Ḥasan's claim to descend from the Sāsānidise. His pedigree, as given by Firishta, is as follows:—'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan, the son of Kaikāūs, the son of Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī, the son of Ḥasan, the son of Sahām, the son of Simūn, the son of Salām, the son of Ibrāhīm, the son of Naṣir, the son of Munṣūr, the son of Rustam, the son of Kaiqubād, the son of Mīnūchihr, the son of Nāmdār, the son of Isfandiyār, the son of Kaiyūmars, the son of Khurshīd, the son of Ṣa'ṣā, the son of Faghfūr, the son of Farrukh, the son of Shahryār, the son of Amīr, the son of Suhaid, the son of Malik Dā'ūd, the son of Hūshang, the son of Nik Kardār, the son of Firūz Bakht, the son of Nūḥ, the son of Ṣānī', who was descended from Bahrām-i-gūr the Sāmānī, who was descended from Bahman the son of Isfandiyār. This pedigree is varied as follows by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*:—'Alā'u-d-dunyā wa-'d-dīn Ḥasan Bahman *Shāh*, son of Kaikāūs Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥasan, son of Bahtām, son of Simūn, son of Salām, son of Nūḥ, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣir, son of Munṣūr, son of Nūḥ, son of Ṣānī', son of Bahrām, son of *Shāhrīn*, son of Sād, son of Nūsin, son of Dāvād, son of Bahrām-i-gūr. Both historians express some doubts as to the authenticity of the pedigrees which they give, and there can be little doubt that both pedigrees are fictitious.

We are not concerned, however, with the genuineness of Ḥasan's claim, for this is a question which cannot now be decided. It is certain that he put forward the claim and that his title "Bahman Shāh" was an embodiment of its assertion. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says (King, p. 1) "in consequence of his descent the king was known as Bahman," and subsequently (King, p. 17) refers to him as "the cream of the race of Bahman."

I believe that I have shewn that the epithet "Bahmanī" applied to the great dynasty of the Dakan has no connection with the caste-name "Brahman," but is derived from the old Persian name Bahmani which was borne, as a title, by the founder of the dynasty.

(2) THE OFFSPRING OF 'ALĀ'U-D-DĪN BAHMAN SHĀH.

According to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*¹ Bahman Shāh had four sons of whom three, Muḥammad the eldest, Maḥmūd² and Aḥmad³ are named. Firishta does not give the number of the sons, but names three, Muḥammad⁴ the eldest, Dā'ūd,⁵ who afterwards ascended the throne as the fourth king of the line, and Maḥmūd⁶ the youngest. Khāfi Khān, in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, says that Bahman Shāh had four sons, but he mentions three only. Muḥammad the eldest, Maḥmūd and Dā'ūd. No list of Bahman Shāh's sons is given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and Muḥammad is mentioned as his son, without being distinguished as the eldest.⁷ Elsewhere,⁸ however, Muḥammad Shāh, the fifth king of the dynasty is referred to as "the son of Maḥmūd, the son of Ḥasan Shāh" (*sul.* Bahman Shāh). It is clear, from the general consensus of authorities, that Muḥammad, Bahman Shāh's successor, was his eldest son, and it is also clear that Bahman Shāh had a son named Maḥmūd. The statements of the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* as to the number of his sons may be accepted as correct, in spite of the fact that no one authority names more than three sons. We have, therefore, two sons to account for, *viz.*, Aḥmad, mentioned by the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, the *Ṭazkiratu-l-Mulūk*,⁹ and Dā'ūd, mentioned by Firishta and Khāfi Khān. There seems to be little doubt that Bahman Shāh had a son named Aḥmad, but this question will be considered in connection with that of the parentage of the eighth and ninth *Sultāns* of the dynasty. I cannot, however, find any sufficient reason for believing that Aḥmad was the youngest son, as stated by

¹ King, p. 22.

² Ibid, p. 31.

³ Ibid, p. 36.

⁴ Firishta, i. 527.

⁵ Ibid, i. 533, 573.

⁶ Ibid, i. 533.

⁷ King, p. 408.

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 410.

⁹ King, p. 47.

Major King in the genealogical table given by him on p. xxxiv of his book. The author whom he translates nowhere says that Aḥmad was the youngest son, and Firishṭa, who, although not entirely trustworthy in questions of genealogy, should be followed when he cannot be proved to be wrong, distinctly says that Maḥmūd was the youngest. So far, therefore, we have Muḥammad the eldest, and Maḥmūd the youngest, with Aḥmad somewhere between them.

Authorities differ as to the parentage of Dā'ūd. Both Firishṭa and Khāfi Khān make him a son of Bahman Shāh, the only difference between them being that the former places the sons in the order—(1) Muḥammad, (2) Dā'ūd, (3) Maḥmūd; while the latter places Muḥmūd before Dā'ūd, without saying, however, that Maḥmūd was the elder. In the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*¹ Dā'ūd is described as the first cousin of Mujāhid Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh I, according to which statement he would be a grandson and not a son of Bahman Shāh. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says in one place² that Dā'ūd was "a younger brother, or according to one history, a cousin of Mujāhid," but afterwards³ says, "according to the most authentic accounts, Sultān Dā'ūd Shāh was son of Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmanī (*sul.* Bahman Shāh). Although Firishṭa is generally an untrustworthy genealogist his account of Dā'ūd's parentage must be preferred to that of other authorities. It is possible that the word ابن ("son") in Nizāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad's description of him as the first cousin (ابن عم) of Mujāhid is an interpolation. The statement in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* that Dā'ūd was the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of Bāhman Shāh, cannot be accepted. Firishṭa, who is not contradicted on this point, makes Maḥmūd, as has been said, the youngest son of Bahman Shāh. He says that at the time of Bahman Shāh's death (A.H. 759) Maḥmūd was a schoolboy, reading Sa'di's *Būstān*. He was probably, therefore, thirteen or fourteen years of age at that time, and can hardly have been the father of Dā'ūd, who held an important command in the expedition against the Rāya of Vijayanagar in Mujāhid's reign (A.H. 776-779). For these reasons I am inclined to complete the tale of Bahman Shāh's four sons by adding to them Dā'ūd, and this assumption, supported by Firishṭa's authority, whatever that may be worth, not only fills the gap left by the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, but accounts satisfactorily for Dā'ūd's anger when he was rebuked by Mujāhid for neglect of his military duty. Dā'ūd might have borne a rebuke from a brother or a cousin older than himself who was also his king, but a rebuke

¹ King, p. 410.

² King, p. 29.

³ King, p. 31.

from a nephew would have been harder to bear, and the assumption that Dā'ūd was Mujāhid's uncle explains his resentment, the result of which was the assassination of Mujāhid and the accession of Dā'ūd. Bahman Shāh's four sons, therefore, were Muḥammad, Dā'ūd, Aḥmad and Maḥmūd. The only question concerning them which cannot be settled is the order in which Dā'ūd and Aḥmad came.

(3) THE OFFSPRING OF MUḤAMMAD I.

Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Mujāhid. Firishta, Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad, and Khāfi Khān mention no other son, but the author of the *Burhān-i-Maṣīr*¹ says that Muḥammad had a younger son, Fath Khān. The statement may be accepted as correct, but Fath Khān is not again heard of, and is therefore unimportant. Mujāhid was assassinated after a reign of little more than a year, and his uncle and successor, Dā'ūd, was assassinated after a reign of little more than a month. The former left no issue. Dā'ūd, according to Firishta, left a son, Muḥammad Sanjar, who was blinded.

(4) NĀSIRU-D-DIN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH II.

Muḥammad Shāh II is described both by Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad and by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* as the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-din Bahman Shāh. The latter authority also describes him, consistently but wrongly, as the younger brother of Da'ūd. Firishta, followed, of course, by Khāfi Khān, falls into a strange error regarding the name and the identity of this king, and asserts that his name was Maḥmūd and not Muḥammad and that he was the son of Alā'u-d-din Bahman Shāh. He is very positive on this point, as the following extract² will show:—

“The author of the *Futūḥ-u-Salātīn* has made a mistake regarding the name of this king, saying that his name was Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, and mentioning him as Muḥammad Shāh in all his poems; and likewise some of the historians of Gujarāt and Dihli, both ancient and modern, not having inquired into events in the Dakan as they actually came to pass, have made mistakes both in the names of the Bahmanī kings and in many of the stories which they relate concerning them, and all of them have wielded untrustworthy pens and have failed to verify their information.”

Firishta, in spite of his assurance, was unquestionably wrong. In the first place he stands alone, his copyist Khāfi Khān excepted, in describing the fifth Bahmanī King as Maḥmūd. All other authorities

¹ King, p. 28.

² Firishta, i. 576.

call him Muḥammad. In the second place he is contradicted by an inscription, dated A.H. 892, on the *Muḥammadi* gate of the fortress of Narnāla in Berar, in which *Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh*, the fourteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty is described as "the son of Sultān Muḥammad, the son of Sultān Hamāyūn, the son of Sultān Aḥmad, the son of Sultān Muḥammad." The inscription is not necessarily a better authority than *Firishta*, and the account of *Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd's* descent which it gives is unquestionably wrong, but the Sultān Muḥammad to whom the descent is traced was evidently the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty, so that in this respect the inscription corroborates the mass of evidence against *Firishta*. Finally we have the evidence of the coins. All the known coins of the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty bear the name Muḥammad. None bears the name Maḥmūd. This fact alone is sufficient to decide the question. Even *Firishta* would have hesitated to assert that the officials of the mint did not know the name of the king whom they served.

It is, however, worth while to consider a possible source of *Firishta's* error. He may have seen this Sultān mentioned in some inscription, *sanad*, or other authentic document by his name *Nāṣiru-d-dīn* followed by his father's name, thus:—*Nāṣiru-d-dīn-i-Maḥmūd*, the *izāfat*, which would be omitted in Persian script, denoting the patronymic. Similar errors in nomenclature have occurred. Thus, the Arab conqueror of Sindh, Muḥammad-i-Qāsim or Muḥammad bin Qāsim, has been styled by historians who should have known better, "Muḥammad Qāsim," as though Qāsim were his own name instead of being his father's.

(5) THE OFFSPRING OF MUḤAMMAD II.

The fifth king had two sons. Sultān *Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad*, or Bahman¹ and Sultān *Shamsu-d-dīn Dā'ūd*. The former succeeded him at the age of 17, according to *Firishta*,² or 12 according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*,³ and was deposed and blinded after a reign of little more than a month. His younger brother *Shamsu-d-dīn* was then placed on the throne, at the age of 15, according to *Firishta*,⁴ or 6, according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*.⁵ His reign lasted, according to *Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad*⁶ and *Firishta*⁷ fifty-seven days, and according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*⁸ five months and seven days. The discrepancy may be due to a misreading.

¹ King, p. 34.

² *Firishta*, i. 581.

³ King, p. 34.

⁴ *Firishta*, i. 583.

⁵ King, p. 35.

⁶ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 411.

⁷ *Firishta*, i. 586.

⁸ King, p. 36.

(6) THE PARENTAGE OF FIRŪZ SHĀH AND AḤMAD SHĀH, THE EIGHTH AND NINTH KINGS.

Firishta says¹ that Maḥmūd Shāh (Dā'ūd is evidently meant) had three sons: (1) Muḥammad Sanjar, who was blinded; (2) Firūz Khān; and (3) Aḥmad Khān; and that the uncle of these boys, Muḥammad Shāh II (whom Firishta calls Maḥmūd) before he had sons of his own, brought up Firūz and Aḥmad as his sons, married them to two of his daughters, and led Firūz to believe that he would be his heir, but that after the birth of his own sons he made Firūz and Aḥmad swear allegiance to Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn. This plausible story accounts for Firūz Khān's ambition, but for various reasons it cannot be accepted as true. In the first place the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, who is a better authority than Firishta in genealogical questions, makes² Firūz and Aḥmad the sons of Aḥmad Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh, and he is supported³ by the author of the *Taẓkiratu-l-Mulūk*. Firishta does not explain why the two younger sons of Dā'ūd should have been brought up as princes in the line of succession to the throne when it was found necessary to blind their eldest brother, Muḥammad Sanjar. There is good evidence, of a negative nature, in favour of the statements of the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Taẓkiratu-l-Mulūk*. Among Oriental rulers the pride of descent is more exacting than it is in the West, and descent from those who are merely members of a royal house is less highly regarded than a descent which can be traced through an unbroken line of actual wearers of the crown. This pride finds its expression in the common formula *السلطان ابن السلطان* and, when a king can establish such a line of descent, he rarely fails to mention his father's name on his coins and in his inscriptions. So far as I know, neither Firūz Shāh nor Aḥmad Shāh ever mentions his father's name in such inscriptions. Aḥmad Shāh's name appears in the inscriptions in his fine tomb at Bīdar, but his father's does not. If the brothers had been sons of Dā'ūd, a king who actually reigned, they would certainly have mentioned the fact, either on their coins or in their inscriptions. As they have not done so it may be safely held, with the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Taẓkiratu-s-Salāṭīn*, that Firūz and Aḥmad were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh.

I have referred above to an exceptional coin. This is the coin which I have already mentioned in the account of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. The reverse bears the inscription, "Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh," but no date. I was inclined to

¹ Firishta, i. 583.² King, pp. 36, 49.³ King, p. 47.

assign this coin to Aḥmad I, the younger brother of Firūz, and to assume that he had bestowed upon his father, Aḥmad Khān, the honorary title of "Shāh," but Maulavi Muḥammad 'Azīz Mirzā, B.A., First Talukdar of Bid in the Haidarābād State, has pointed out to me that the *kunya* on the obverse of the coin does not coincide with that on coins which can be assigned with certainty to Aḥmad Shāh I, and he is of opinion that the coin must be assigned to 'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, the son and successor of Aḥmad I. His ascription of the coin is undoubtedly correct but an explanation of the line of descent as given on the reverse is necessary, for there is no reason or authority for believing that Aḥmad I (and consequently Firūz) was the son of Bahman Shāh the founder of the dynasty. We must therefore explain the inscription on the reverse, in view of the very strong reasons for believing that Firūz and Aḥmad I were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, by assuming that Aḥmad II traced his descent *per saltum* through Aḥmad I to Bahman Shāh.

Two errors concerning the descent of Aḥmad Shāh I call for notice here. The first is a mistake made by Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the heading¹ of his account of Aḥmad Shāh's reign, in which Aḥmad is described as the son of Firūz. This is merely a slip, for the same author elsewhere² mentions Ḥasan Khān as the eldest son of Firūz, and says that Firūz, when delivering the kingdom to Aḥmad, commended his *sons* to his protection. The other error is contained in the Narnāla inscription which makes Aḥmad (and consequently Firūz) the son of Muḥammad Shāh, evidently the fifth king of the dynasty. It has already been shown that Firūz and Aḥmad were not the sons of Muḥammad II, and the inscription is, independently of this inaccuracy, of very little value, for it omits altogether from the descent given, the name of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad II.

There appears to be little if any doubt that Firūz Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh, the eighth and ninth kings of the Bahmanī dynasty, were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty.

(7) THE OFFSPRING OF FIRŪZ SHĀH.

According to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* Firūz, who was deposed by his younger brother Aḥmad in A.H. 825, left several sons, for he speaks³ of "Ḥasan Khān and all the other sons of the late king." In another passage⁴ he mentions Makhdūma-i-Jahān, the wife

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 414.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 413.

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³ *King*, p. 47.

⁴ *King*, p. 89.

of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, as the daughter of Mubārak Khān, son of Sultān Firūz Shāh. Firishṭa¹ and Khāfi Khān mention this princess and describe her as a wise woman, but do not give her descent. Neither author mentions any sons of Firūz except Ḥasan Khān. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says² that Firūz commended his "sons" to Aḥmad's protection. We may conclude that Firūz had several sons, of whom the eldest was Ḥasan Khān, Mubārak being one of the younger sons. Ḥasan Khān was designated heir-apparent during his father's life-time, and married the beautiful daughter of the Sonār of Mudgal. He seems to have been an unambitious and pleasure-loving youth who readily acquiesced in his uncle's elevation to the throne.

(8) OFFSPRING OF AḤMAD SHAH VALI.

The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says³ that Aḥmad Shāh had seven sons, and gives the titles of four—(1) Zafar Khān Khān-i-Khānān, (2) Maḥmūd Khān, (3) Muḥammad Khān, and (4) Dā'ūd Khān. Maḥmūd is described as the fourth son. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad⁴ mentions Zafar Khān by his name, 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and also mentions Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, and Dā'ūd. Muḥammad was entrusted to the care of his eldest brother 'Alā'u-dīn, while the other sons were placed in charge of provinces. This bears out Firishṭa's statement⁵ that Muḥammad was the youngest of the sons and 'Alā'u-d-dīn the eldest. Firishṭa also mentions Maḥmūd and Dā'ūd. Aḥmad Shāh Vali had at least two daughters, for one of his daughters married Shāh Ḥabibu'llāh, and another married Jalāl Khān and was the mother of Sikandar Khān, whom his father tried to raise to the throne.

(9) OFFSPRING OF ZAFAR KHAN, 'ALĀ'U-D-DĪN AḤMAD II.

'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad had three sons: Humāyūn Shāh Zālim ("the tyrant"), who succeeded him, and Ḥasan Khān, and Yaḥyā Khān, both of whom were put to death by their brother.⁶ He also had more than one daughter, for his eldest daughter⁷ married Shāh Muḥabbu'llāh, brother of the Shāh Ḥabibu'llāh already mentioned.

¹ Firishṭa, i. 663.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 414.

³ King, p. 50.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 416.

⁵ Firishṭa, i. 630.

⁶ Firishṭa, i. 659, 661. King, pp. 81, 85, 87. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 424, 425.

⁷ King, p. 74.

(10) OFFSPRING OF HUMĀYUN SHĀH ZĀLIM.

Humāyūn Shāh married the daughter of Mubārak Khān, a younger son of the eighth king, Firūz, and by this princess, who received the title of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, invariably bestowed upon the principal wife of a Bahmanī king, had three sons—(1) Nizām Shāh, who succeeded him, (2) Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad, who succeeded his brother Nizām Shāh, and (3) Jamshīd¹ called by Firishta² Aḥmad.

(11) OFFSPRING OF SHAMSU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD LASHKARĪ.

Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad had, so far as is known, only one son, who is styled by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*³ Aḥmad, and who succeeded his father under the title of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd. No other writer styles this prince Aḥmad, and the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* does not explain why he should have changed his name on succeeding to the throne.

(12) OFFSPRING OF SHAHĀBU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH.

Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd had three⁴ sons—(1) Aḥmad, (2) 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and (3) Vali'u-'llāh, all of whom were in succession raised to the throne as nominal sovereigns by Amīr Barīd. Firishta, in the heading of the chapter⁵ devoted to the "reign" of 'Alā'u-d-dīn III, describes him as the son, not the brother, of his predecessor, Aḥmad Shāh; but this is an error, for he says afterwards⁶ that Vali'u-'llāh, whom he describes as the son of Maḥmūd Shāh, followed the example of his "brother" in attempting to free himself from the influence of Amīr Barīd, so that Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad is evidently correct in describing⁷ 'Alā'u-d-dīn III as the son of Maḥmūd Shāh.

Of the three brothers Aḥmad Shāh III died after a reign of little more than two years, not without suspicion of poison; 'Alā'u-d-dīn Shāh III was deposed after a reign which did not extend to two years; and Vali'u-'llāh Shāh was poisoned after a reign of three years.

(13) AḤMAD SHĀH III.

Aḥmad III was, as has been said, the eldest son of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. There is a discrepancy as to the date of his birth. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad⁸ gives the date as Rajab 27, A.H., 899, whereas

¹ King, p. 89.

² Firishta, i. 671.

³ King, p. 116.

⁴ Possibly four, if the last king of the dynasty, Kalimu-'llāh, be reckoned as one. See the account of Kalimu-'llāh.

⁵ Firishta, i. 727.

⁶ Ibid, 728.

⁷ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 436.

⁸ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 434.

Firishta¹ has Rajab 27, A.H. 889. But Firishta also says that Ahmad was born on the day on which Kh'āja Ni'matu'llāh Tabrizī, the envoy from the rebel Bahādur Gilānī, arrived at court and discharged the duty entrusted to him. He had no sooner concluded an agreement with Maḥmūd Shāh than Bahādur Gilānī broke it, and was defeated and slain in battle, according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*² on Šafar 5, A.H. 900. Again, according to Firishta, Maḥmūd Shāh was only twelve years of age at the time of his accession in A.H. 881, so that it is unlikely that his eldest son was born in A.H. 889; and we know, moreover, that Maḥmūd Shāh was for some time disappointed of male issue, so that it is evident that he was not, at 14 years of age, the father of a son. Firishta also says³ that Ahmad married Bibī Sata, sister of Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh, in A.H. 920, and it is more probable that Ahmad was 21 than that he was 31 years of age when this marriage was arranged. It appears, therefore, that the date of Ahmad's birth, as given by Firishta, is a copyist's error, and that the correct date is that given by Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad.

(14) KALĪMU-'LLĀH SHĀH.

There is some doubt as to the parentage of Kalimu-'llāh Shāh. Both Firishta and Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad describe him, in the headings of the chapters containing the accounts of his reign, as the son of Maḥmūd. But Firishta, in mentioning⁴ his flight to Bijāpūr in A.H. 934, describes Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh as his maternal uncle, and we have seen that Bibī Sata, Ismā'il's sister, was married to Ahmad, so that it would appear that Kalimu-'llāh was a son, and not a younger brother, of Ahmad. The principal difficulty in the way of this explanation is that it makes Kalimu-'llāh, at the time of his flight to Bijāpūr, by which time he had already caused a letter to be written to Bābar, a boy of 13 years of age at most; but this difficulty disappears if we assume that the appeal to Bābar and the flight to Bijāpūr were managed by those who had the immediate care of the youthful *roi fainéant*. Nevertheless, the question cannot be said to have been satisfactorily decided. I have seen copper coins of Kalimu-'llāh, and have a specimen, but unfortunately they do not bear his father's name.

Kalimu-'llāh died at Ahmadnagar in A.H. 934 or 935, probably from poison, and with him ended the Bahmanī dynasty.

The three genealogical tables appended give the pedigree of the Bahmanī family—(1) according to Firishta, (2) according to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, and (3) as described in this paper.

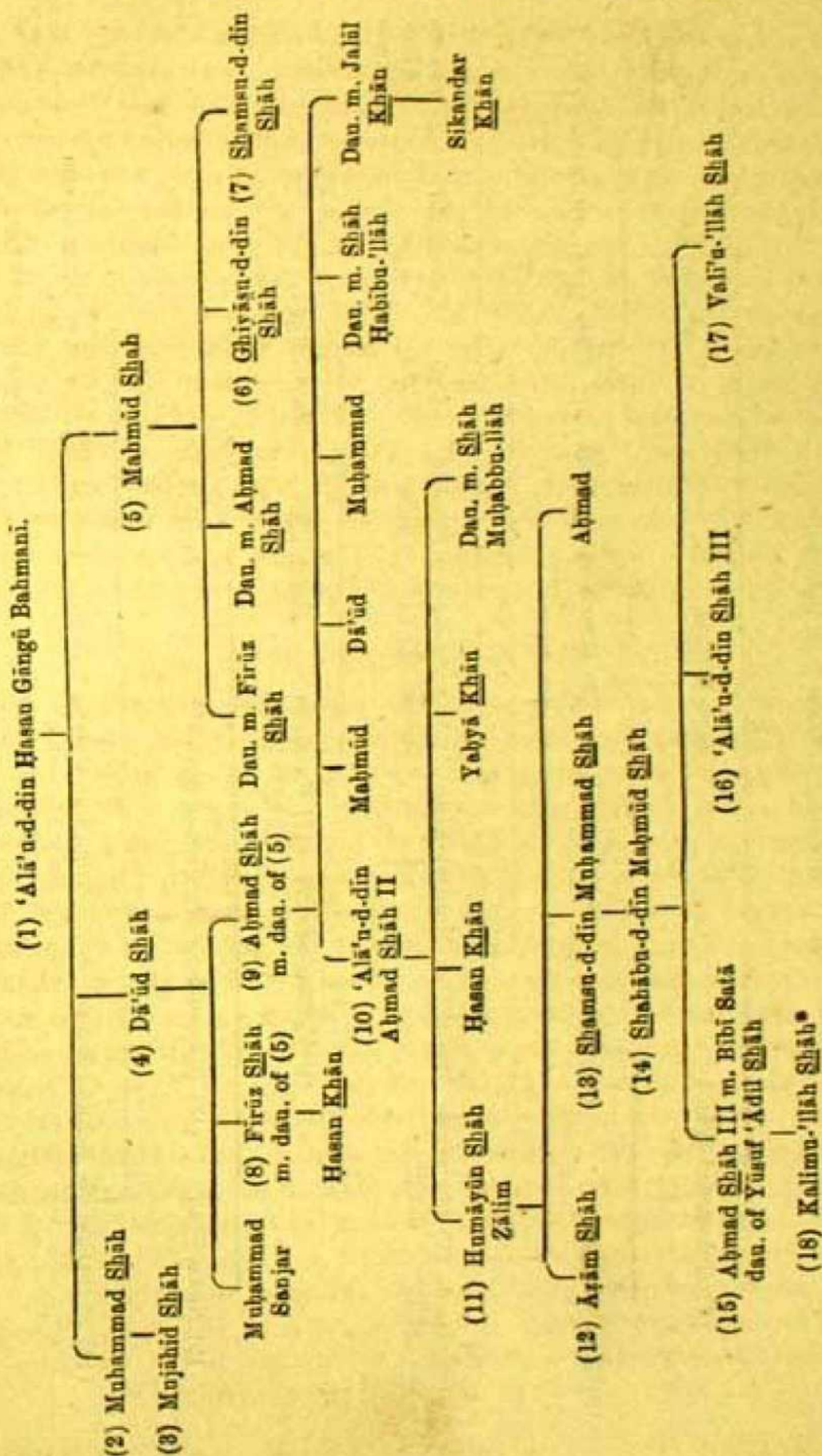
¹ Firishta, i. 716.

² King, p. 133.

³ Firishta, ii. 32.

⁴ Firishta, i. 779.

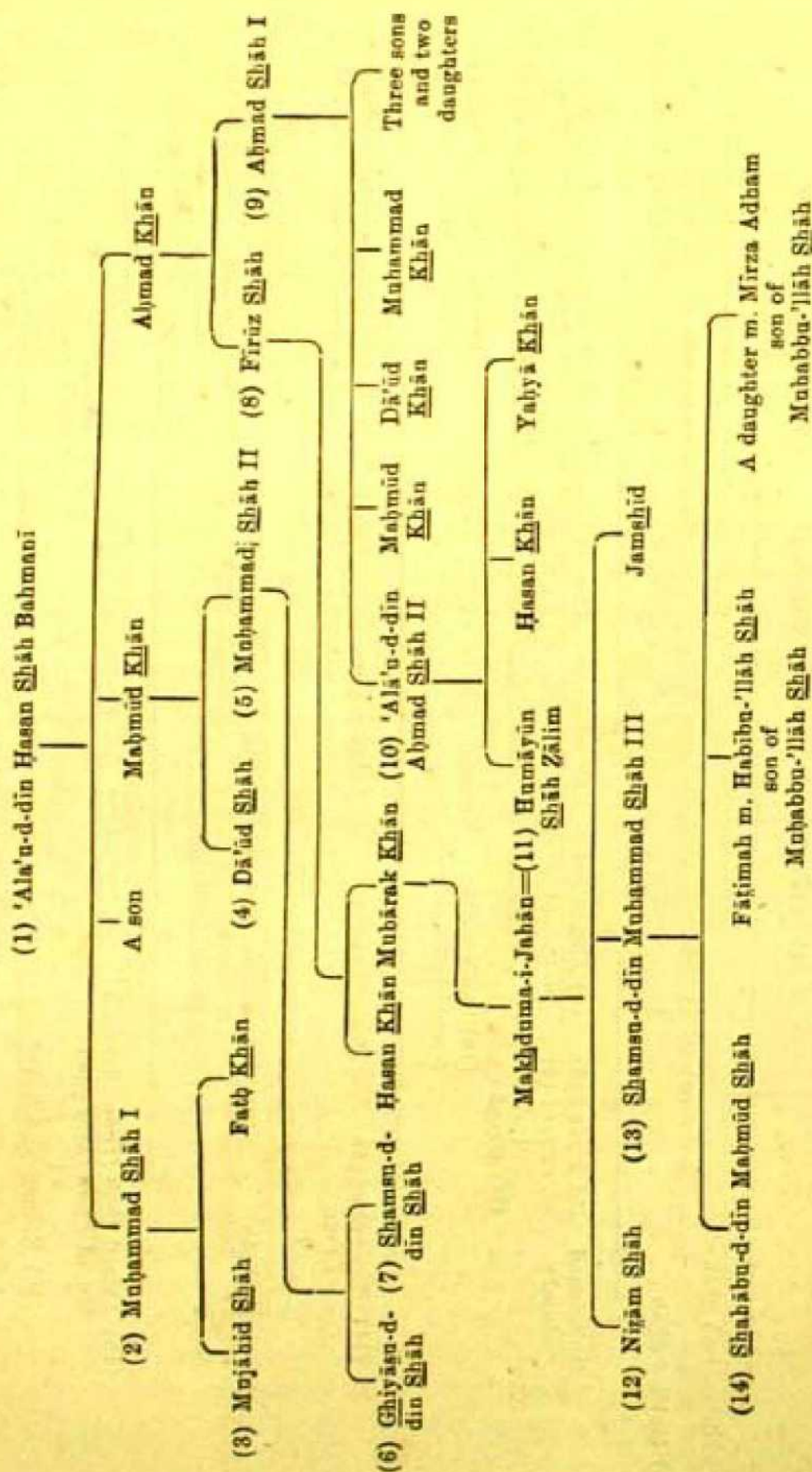
I.—GENEALOGY OF THE BAHMANI KINGS ACCORDING TO FIRISHTA.



Note.—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of succession to the throne.

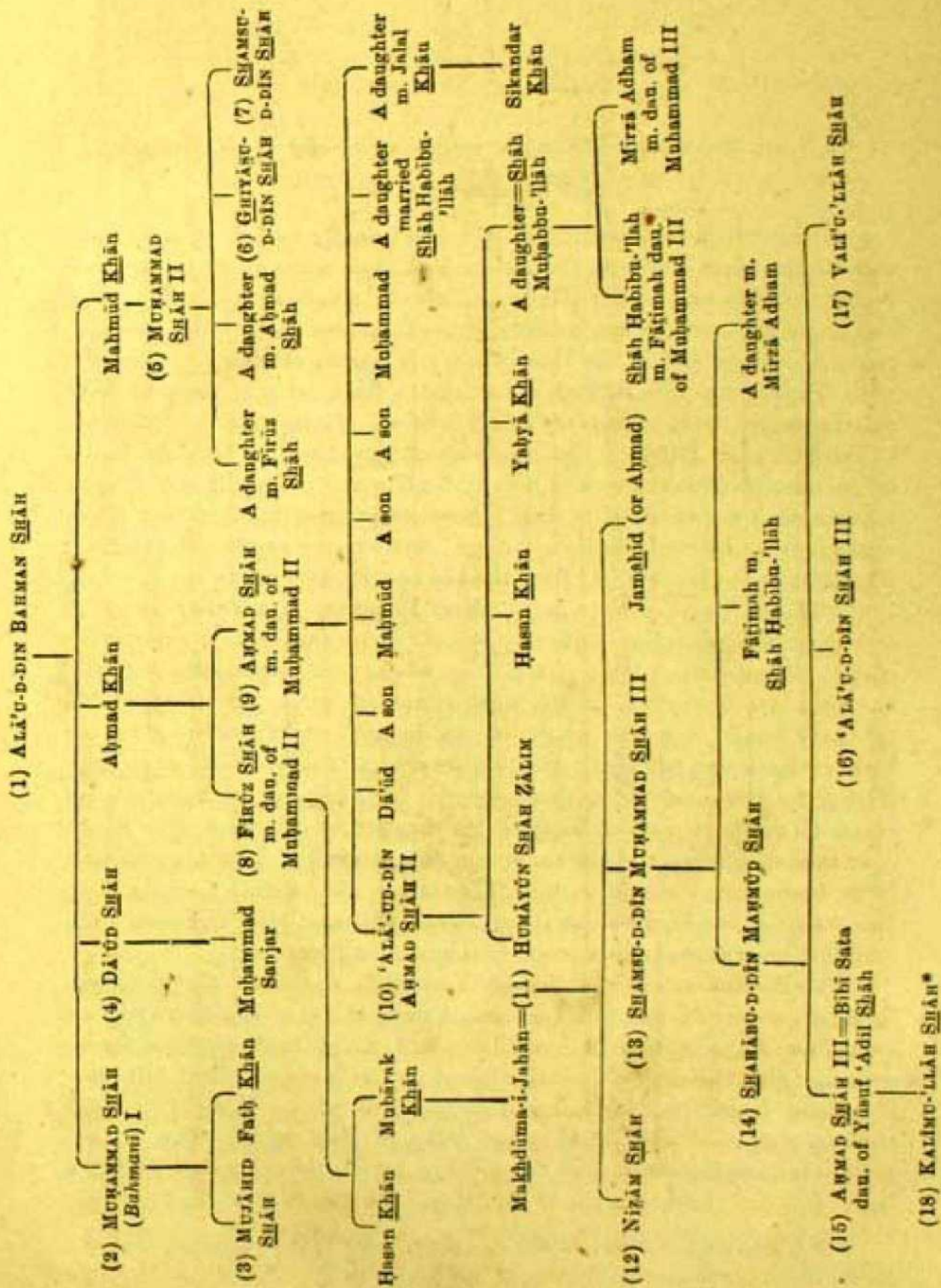
* It is doubtful whether Kalimū-'llāh was a son or a younger brother of Ahmad III.

II.—GENEALOGY OF THE BAHMANI KINGS ACCORDING TO THE *Burhān-i-Ma'āshir*.



Note—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of accession to the throne. Mahmūd seems to be regarded by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āshir* as the last of the Bahmanī kings.

II.—GENEALOGY OF THE BAHMANI KINGS, COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.



Note.—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of accession to the throne.

* It is not certain whether Kalimu-'llah was a son or younger brother of Ahmad III.

On Some Archæological Remains in Bishnath.—By W. N. EDWARDS.

[Read November, 21st 1904.]

BISHNATH, or Visvanatha, as it was originally called, is one of the most interesting towns in the Assam Valley on account of its archæological remains and sacred Hindu traditions. At one time it was a large and populous town, as can be seen by the immense earthworks that surround the place, and in the 13th century it was in close communication with PRATAPPUR, the capital of *Arimutta* Raja who appears to have ruled over the tract of country lying between Visvanatha on the east to the Subonsiri River on the west¹ about that time. There are still a large number of tanks on the Bishnath plain and in Behali and Gomiri mouzas that are ascribed to him. Another interesting discovery lately made is that the large earthen "bund" known now as the Majulighur, which runs almost straight from the old city Pratappur, to the low hills in the Duffla Range, a distance of about 12 miles, is nothing more or less than a fortification evidently thrown up as a protection against the people of the west. Deep in the heart of the forest where the "ghur" has been less disturbed, on the west, is a deep ditch running parallel to the "bund" for the whole of its length, and from the ditch the "ghur" rises very abruptly with a parapet on the western edge, and falling to the east in a gentle slope; furthermore, at intervals of about 80 yards there are bastions thrown out on the west face which command the rampart both to the north and south. There seems now little doubt from these facts that there being no natural boundary to the west of the kingdom as there was on the east (the Subonsiri) the fortification was made as a protection against aggression.

The Brahmins say that before Visvanath was built the place was called *Viswagiri Porbot*, and the present town and the island known as Oomatoomoni were joined in one large hill, which sunk under a severe volcanic disturbance leaving the place in its present form. It was renowned from time immemorial as the spot where Visnu lopped off the upper arm and chest of the dead body of Sati which Siva in his grief was carrying about, and the spots on which these portions of Sati's body fell are held sacred to this day. There are now the following

¹ This information is derived from an old Buranji in the possession of Srijut Rajoni Kanta Burdolai of N. Lackimpur.

temples in Bishnath :—Visvanath, Uma Dewal, Chandi Dewal, Sibanath Dewal, Komoleswar Dewal Basdeo Dewal and the Bordhol Dewal. Of these, there are now only two *mandirs* actually standing, and both are fine specimens of the architecture of the Ahoom kings, but both are abandoned as far as worship is concerned, the Thakurs having built small *cutcha* houses near them where “Puja” is carried on.

The Bor Dhol mandir, the larger of these, was built by the order of Gaurinātha Simpha who reigned from 1780 to 1795, while the smaller one called “Sibanath Dewal” was built some 50 to 60 years previously in the reign of Sibasing. This is a somewhat smaller structure, and of less handsome design, and was constructed from the materials taken from the old temple of Visvanatha; which was dismantled owing to the depredations of the Brahmaputra river.

The Visvanath temple was built by Godādhara Simpha or, as he was known to the Ahooms, “Chupatpha.” There is a copper plate still in existence which sets forth that in the year A.D. 1685 Godādhara Simpha granted for the upkeep of the temple :—“Certain ornaments, four Brahmans, 40 Sudra Paiks, eight dancing girls, and also 20 puras of Brahmattar Land.” There is also a second “*Phuli*” granting 24 Puras of Devottar Land and servants to the same temple dated 1815 A.D. This was in Chandrakant's reign.

The temple, however, has long since disappeared and the Linga is now only exposed for six months in the year when the river falls; for the rest of the time it is buried by the water.

Of the remaining temples, that of “Caṇḍi” and “Umā” are the most important. The former is a square brick building, built on the rocks, at the edge of which, the new channel of the Brahmaputra flows. This was built from public subscriptions, some 60 years ago, by a religious mendicant named Brahma Chari Fakir, and covers the spot where Sati's chest fell. To the right of the temple there is a *Linga* carved out of the rock. The out-buildings attached to this temple have fallen into decay, though the temple itself commands worshippers. It is evident that the rents received by the owners of these temples from the Bramatta and Devottor lands are no longer utilized for the purpose for which they were intended. The last temple of importance is that of “Umāmāi” which is situated on the Island, and the Brāhmin ministering there shows one the spot where Sati's arm fell. Here there is no brick building; merely a shed roofed with corrugated iron, built over the sacred rock. Close to this shrine is a rock on which the following inscription has been deciphered :—

“Written by Holodhar, son of Laksimidhar Sarmah, Commander of the army of the king of Pratappur.” There is no date. There are

other inscriptions on the rocks on the island, but they have not been deciphered.

Buroi Fortification.—This is a most interesting ruin situated at the foot of the Duffla hills, where the Buroi river debouches into the plain; and was found by the writer some few years ago. The fortification consists of two stone walls, one on each side of the river—and it is assigned to the Pretappuria Raja who, the Dufflas say, entrenched himself in the hills with a considerable following. The stones bear distinct builders' marks on them, similar to those found by Capt. Hannay on the Copper temple of the *Sutias* beyond Sudiya, some 70 years ago. Hence we may suppose that the *Sutias* are responsible for these walls also. A detailed account of these ruins is given by the writer in a paper to the A. Soc. of Bengal. They appear to date back as far as the 13th Century.

Behali Mandir.—The remains of another small temple I was fortunate enough to discover in 1892, situated at the edge of an old tank in the Behali garden. All that remained was the plinth which was some 18" to 2' below the surface of the ground. The building had evidently been a small one, not more than 12' x 12', but was exceedingly well built with brick—the base had a projecting plinth with decorative mouldings; while the foundation of the structure, which was some 5' below the plinth, rose from a small base gradually widening on all sides until it acquired the area of the plinth—a curious and uncommon method of building, which I think is never seen now-a-days.

Pertabghur.—This is the site of the ancient city of Pretappur which, in the middle ages, had acquired renown as "the Splendid City" the capital of the Pratappuria Raja. Captain Westmacott, in an article to the A. Soc. of Bengal, written in 1835, imagines that the city was situated on the present site of Tezpur, for he says:—

"In the M.S. of the Assam Kings the city is stated to have been "placed on the North Bank of the Brahmaputra, a little below Bishnath,¹ "and as the entire country bordering the river from Pora (Tezpur) "eastward to Bishnath * * * is covered with swamp to the extent of "several miles inland, there are strong grounds for supposing that "Pretappur' and 'Pora' are the same."

From the present configuration of the country there is now no doubt that the Brahmaputra at one time flowed at the foot of Pertabghur, as there is a drop of some 30 feet from the red deluvial lands of that part to the low alluvial swamps that Captain Westmacott describes. And this being the case, Pretappur would be "a little below

¹ The italics are mine.

Bishnath," the distance round the curve of the high land being only some six miles between the two places.

The large earthworks that surround the old city are extant to this day and measure roughly 2 miles $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs long, by 1 mile 2 furlongs broad, and comprise all that land lying between the Ghiladari river on the west, to the Sadhara river on the east. These entrenchments consist of double "Bunds" about 60 feet apart from the apex, with a deep ditch between, which was probably kept full of water from the rivers. Almost in the centre of this enclosure, of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, is a large fort consisting of exceedingly high earthen walls, which were at one time lined with brick; and surrounded by further outworks thrown up 50 to 60 yards away from the main fort, and protected by a ditch all round. It would appear that this was the citadel of the town. There are also several large tanks full of water to this day scattered throughout the enclosure. To the N.E. of the citadel is a clump of trees by the side of a tank, known to the natives as the "Burra-Gosai Jharoni," and here the Assamese worship once or twice a year coming from all parts of the district. On examination, I found a walled enclosure 100 feet square, but now almost hidden under earth and jungle, laid with old Assamese bricks; and scattered about inside this a good deal of carved stone work. One slab had some inscription on it, but this has yet to be deciphered. There was also a curious granite vase standing about 2 feet high and solid, but for a circular hole running from mouth to base 2 inches in diameter. It was unbroken, and had evidently been used for ornamentation. By native tradition this spot is said to have been the tomb of a holy man of a bygone age, and there is a *murti* attached to the place, of old Hindu design, which the Thakur keeps hidden, until required at the festivals.

From these interesting remains it seems that Pretappur was a large and populous city about the 13th century, but its actual age was probably considerably greater than this, for the capital of Nagsonkor, A.D. 378, was situated in or about this place.

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*Vidyāpati Thākur*.—By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA.

[Read 7th December, 1904.]

Twenty-two years ago Dr. G. A. Grierson edited a collection of *Vidyāpati*'s poems. These appeared as an extra Number, Part I, for 1882, of the *Journal* of this Society. Since then a great many more facts relating to this famous Maithil poet have come to light. Dr. Grierson's collection contained in all 82 poems, and he believed these were very nearly all that are known in Tirhut. This is not to be wondered at, since the collection was mostly made from the mouth of singers. Besides these, however, a great number of poems and songs, some of great poetic power and beauty, are to be found in Mithilā in old palm-leaf and other manuscripts, scattered about in different households and villages. People are unwilling to part with these valuable manuscripts, and it requires a great deal of time, patience and labour to collect these poems and transcribe them from the old manuscripts. There is one palm-leaf manuscript, said to be in the handwriting of *Vidyāpati*'s great grandson and believed to be genuine, containing no less than 400 poems. Most of these have been copied out and are at present in my possession.<sup>1</sup> They have been closely examined by the best *Pandits* and scholars of Mithilā and have been pronounced to be genuine. The internal evidence as regards poetic merit, form of language and verse and the unmistakeable individuality of *Vidyāpati*, is also complete.

Most of *Vidyāpati*'s poems current in Bengal were pronounced to be spurious by Dr. Grierson. This is so far true that the language, rhythm and even the sense of the Maithil poet have been frightfully corrupted in Bengal, but the intrinsic poetic value is undeniable. It now transpires that most of these poems may be found in Mithilā in old manuscripts, and it will not be difficult to restore them to their original shape and meaning. Besides writing under his own name *Vidyāpati* wrote under several literary titles, and sufficient evidence is forthcoming to establish this fact satisfactorily. Up to now the titles that have been ascertained to be his are :—*कविशेखर*, *कवि कण्ठधार*, *सिंह सुपति*, *नव जयदेव*, *दमावधान*. In the Bengal collection the title

<sup>1</sup> Since reading this paper I have obtained possession of the original palm-leaf manuscript. The number of poems is about 350.—*Author*.



of कविरत्न is also found, which is the same as कविरत्न in the Maithil poems. The title of कविकण्ठहार is to be met with in Dr. Grierson's collection. There is a large number of poems bearing the title of कविशेखर. The title of सिंह भूपति does not belong to Vidyāpati himself but to Raja Siva Simh, or some other member of the family. Some poems have been composed under the name of सिंह भूपति. In the भविता of one poem of this class the word राजपण्डित also occurs :—

वहरिष्यो एक अपराध खेमिय  
राजपण्डित भान ।  
रमनि राधा रसिक यदुपति  
सिंह भूपति जान ॥

“Even an enemy forgives one (*viz.*, the first) offence, saith Rāj Paṇḍit: Simha King knoweth Rādhā is only a woman and Yadupati (Kṛṣṇa) is amorous.”

In the deed of gift of the village of Biṣpi Vidyāpati is spoken of both as महाराजपण्डित and नव जयदेव. I have found दशावधान in only one poem, of which the concluding lines are of great historical value :—

दश अवधान भन पुरव पेस गुनि  
प्रथम समागम मेला ।  
आलम साह पदु भाविनि भजि रदु  
कमलिनि भमर मुलला ॥

“Saith Daśāvadhān (*viz.*, one who can attend simultaneously to ten different subjects),—This first meeting is due to the memory of old love; O beauteous one! love Lord Ālam Shāh even as the lotus loves the bee.”

The expression Ālam Shāh, or Lord of men, must have reference to the Emperor of Delhi at the time, or the Paṭhān king of Bengal. कविकण्ठहार is found with as well as without Vidyāpati's name :—

भनइ विद्यापति कवि कण्ठहार ।  
रस वृम्भ शिवसिंह शिव अवतार ॥

“Saith Vidyāpati, the Necklace of poets,—Siva Simha, the incarnation of Siva, knoweth the taste (of this song).”

विमुखि चलल हरि वृम्भि वेवहार ।  
आवे को गाओत कवि कण्ठहार ॥



"Understanding this treatment Hari turned his face and went away. What will Kavi-kaṇṭhahār now sing ? "

कविशेखर invariably occurs by itself and is never coupled with the poet's name :—

कविशेखर भन अपरूप रूप देखि ।

राय नसरद साह भजनि कमलमुखि ॥

"Saith the Crown of poets,—Seeing her wondrous beauty King Nasarad Shāh fell in love with the lotus-faced one."

नव जयदेव is found in a spirited account of a battle between Siva Simha and the Mahomedan army :—

रामरूपे स्वधम्म रखिख्य

दान दप्पे दधौचि ख्खिख्य

सुकवि नव जयदेव

भनिष्यो रे ।

वेवसिंह नरेन्द्र नन्दन

शत्रु नरवह कुल निकन्दन

सिंह सम शिवसिंह राजा

सकल गुणक निधान खोरे ।

"The good poet, New Jayadeva, saith,—The son King of Deva Simha, the uprooter of the dynasties of hostile kings, the essence of all virtues, the lion-like Rāja Siva Simha defended and preserved his own faith like Rāma, and in charity rivalled Dadhīci."

All these extracts are from poems not yet published.

It is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy the precise number of poems and songs composed by Vidyāpati. I have collected between six and seven hundred poems of which over three hundred have been collected in Mithilā by Paṇḍit Chunda Jha, the best authority living on Vidyāpati. Each one of these poems has been submitted to a careful test to ascertain its genuineness, and every poem of doubtful authorship has been rejected. These poems are being put together for publication. When published they will not merely establish Vidyāpati's position, which is not disputed even now, as the greatest poet of Mithilā, but also as one of the master-singers of the world, with a width of range and sweep of song worthy of a poet of the first rank. The poet lived not only to a very great age, but displayed incessant and extraordinary literary activity. He was appointed Rāj Paṇḍit in an age of Paṇḍits. In a book called *Rāg Taraṅginī* and composed in Mithilā about two hundred years



ago, he is spoken of as पण्डितवर कविद्योत्तर विद्यापति. Dr. Grierson does not mention that Vidyāpati, besides being the first Maithil poet, wrote a great many books in Sanskrit. Of these *Puruṣa Parikṣā* is well known, and a Bengali translation of this work was a text-book in Bengal some time ago. Three other Sanskrit books composed by him have been printed—*Durgābhakti Taraṅginī*, *Likhanābali* and *Danbakyābali*. Among the other known books are *Saivasarvāśwāsar Kīrti-latā*, *Kīrti Patākā* and *Gaṅgā Pattal*. He also composed some Sanskrit poems, in which the influence of Jayadeva is plainly discernible. In the village of Taraoni, or Taruban, about fourteen miles from Darbhanga, there is a large palm-leaf manuscript in Vidyāpati's own handwriting containing the whole of the *Srimad Bhagavad-gītā*, notes and all. It is in the possession of an old lady, a widow belonging to a collateral branch of Vidyāpati's family, who refuses to part with it on any account. I have seen the book myself and there can be no question as regards its authenticity. The concluding words are :—**स सं १०८ श्रावण शदि १५ कुजे रजा बनोहि पामे श्री विद्यापतेरिपिरियमिति.**

“L. S. 309, Tuesday, the 15th Śrāvaṇ, in the village of Raj Banauli. This is the writing of Śrī Vidyāpati.”

The year 309 of the Lakṣmaṇ Sen era corresponds with 1416 A.C. according to the accepted calculation. According to the Maithil calculation it corresponds with 1618 A.C. Banauli is a village about 30 miles north of Darbhanga. The character of the script is Maithil and the modern Maithil alphabet has scarcely undergone any change since the days of Vidyāpati. There is hardly any room for reasonable doubt that the Bengali alphabet, old and modern, is the same as that of Mithilā. No trace can be found of the poet's manuscripts of his numerous original writings.

There is a tradition current in Mithilā that Rāja Śiva Śimha was taken as a prisoner to Delhi. Vidyāpati accompanied him and helped in obtaining his release from the Emperor. This story would appear to be borne out by the following lines in one of Vidyāpati's poems :—

भन विद्यापति चाह्थि जे विधि  
करथि से से जौना ।  
राजा शिवसिंह बन्धन मोचन  
तखन सुकवि जौना ॥

“Saith Vidyāpati,—Vidhātā does what he pleases. When the bonds of Rāja Śiva Śimha were removed, then the good poet lived (felt relieved).”



The dates of Vidyāpati's birth and death cannot be ascertained, but the day and month of his death are stated in the following couplet :—

विद्यापतिक आयु अवसान ।

कातिक धवज त्रयोदशि जान ॥

“ Know that the termination of Vidyāpati's life was on the white thirteenth day of Kārtik.”

This shows that the poet died on the thirteenth day of the full moon in the month of Kārtik.

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*A note on Mahāmahātaka Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā.*—By MR.  
JUSTICE SARADA CHARAN MITRA.

[Read 7th December, 1904.]

Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura is known to Anglo-Indian lawyers as the author of the Vivāda-Ratnākara, which and the Vivāda-Cintāmaṇi are the leading authorities of the Mithilā school of the Mitākṣarā system of Hindu Law. But to Sanskrit scholars Caṇḍeśvara is known as the author of the *Sapta-Ratnākara* of which the Vivāda-Ratnākara is only a part. As the name implies, the Ratnākara consists of seven parts. The duties and obligations of man in their widest sense are divided by the author into seven parts, and those regarding property form the subject of the Vivāda-Ratnākara. The other parts of the Ratnākara are Kṛtya, Dāna, Vyavahāra, Śuddhi, Pūjā and Gṛhastha.

Of the seven Ratnākaras, the Vivāda only is now accessible in translation in English. Babus Golapa Chandra Sarkara Sastri, M.A., B.L., and Digambara Chattopadhyaya, M.A., B.L., Vakils of the Calcutta High Court, published in the year 1899, in Devanāgarī, the original text of the Vivāda with a translation in English. The learned gentlemen have not been able to give us much information regarding Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura or his family. He was himself a minister of a Raja of Mithilā named Hara Siṃh or Hari Siṃh of the Karṇāṭa Kṣatriya family; he was a son of Vireśvara Ṭhakkura who was also a minister; he was living in the year 1314 A.D.=1236 (Śāka Era) when he performed the *tulā* ceremony. These are facts which appear from the concluding passage of the Ratnākara, in which Caṇḍeśvara is called the Somnāth of the North.

रसशिखिभुजचन्द्रे सम्मिले शाकवर्धे  
सहसि धवलपद्मे वाग्वती सिन्धुतीरे ।  
अदित तुलितमुच्चैरात्मना स्वर्णराशिं  
निधिरखिलगुणानामुत्तरः सोमनाथः ॥

These were the only facts known about the author of the *Sapta-Ratnākara* in the year 1899.

During my recent travels in the Mithilā country, I have with the help of the Honorable Maharaja Rameswara Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga, who is not only the chief of all Mithilā Brahmans but is also a great patron of Sanskrit learning, been able to collect some



information regarding Caṇḍeśvara and his family. In this as well as in other matters regarding my investigations into the ancient literature of Mithilā to which Bengal owes much, I have also derived considerable assistance from my friend Mr. N. Gupta who kindly accompanied me.

Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura belonged to an ancient and learned family of Mithilā Brahmins. They came originally from a village called Viṣai and were known as Viṣaibar Brahmins. The village Viṣai cannot now be identified. It is very probable that Caṇḍeśvara was born at Viṣai. Some of the members of the family now reside at Saurāt (Saurāstra), and it is said they shifted there from their original place of residence. They cannot give us any information when the family migrated.

Caṇḍeśvara's grand-father, Devāditya, was the prime-minister of a Raja of Mithilā—probably Raja Hara Siṃh's father whose name was Sakra Siṃh. The Raja was a feudatory of Alāuddīn Kbilji, the Afghan Sultan of Delhi, who reigned from 1295 to 1315 A.D. The Raja and his prime-minister are said to have taken a leading part in 1295 A.D. against Hamvira Deva of Raṇstambha which was besieged and taken in that year. These facts are borne out by a passage in the Kṛtya-Cintāmani by Caṇḍeśvara himself.

Raja Hara Siṃh, as appears from the Pañji caused to be compiled and first introduced by him, was born in the year 1216 (Sāka Era), and the Pañji was first introduced 32 years later, i.e., 1348 A.D. Caṇḍeśvara performed the Tulā ceremony in 1314 A.D. Raja Hara Siṃh must have been young at the time, having succeeded his father at an early age.

Devāditya had seven sons—Vireśvara, Dhīreśvara, Guṇeśvara, Jateśvara, Haradatta, Lakṣmīśvara and Subhadatta. The eldest Vireśvara, was one of the ministers of the Raja of Mithilā, but whether of Raja Sakra Siṃh or Raja Hari Siṃh does not clearly appear. He is known to Sanskrit scholars as the author of Chāndoga-Paddhati, also called Daśakarma-Paddhati. This book has been recently published with notes by Paṇḍit Parameśvara Jha, a learned scholar of Mithilā attached to the Darbār of the Mahārāja of Darbhanga. Amongst other works, Vireśvara caused a big tank to be excavated in village Dahi-bhata which is still called "Vīrśawara" after his name. This tank is in the vicinity of the Pandoul Factory.

Caṇḍeśvara was the eldest son of Vireśvara and was one of the famous men of his time both as a minister and as a scholar. As prime minister he held a position next to the Raja and was celebrated for his diplomatic talents. It is said that Raja Hara Siṃh on one occasion declined to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Afghan Emperor of Delhi who advanced against him with a large army. The Raja



fled to Nepal. Babu Prasanna Kumar Tagore says in his preface to the *Vivāda Cintāmaṇi* that Hara Siṃh became Raja of Simroon in 1323 A.D. after it had been taken by Tughlak Shāh. The big tank at Darbhanga near the Railway Station known as Harari or Harsayar is said to have been excavated at the instance of Hari Siṃh's minister.

The name of Caṇḍeśvara has, however, come down to us for his great works, the *Ratnākara* and *Kṛtya Cintāmaṇi*. Mr. Colebrooke in his preface to the *Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions* (1798 A.D.) says, 'The *Vivāda-Ratnākara* was compiled under the superintendence of Caṇḍeśvara' and so it bears the latter's name in the same way as Trebonian's great work that of Justinian. But the learned scholars of Mithilā have always ascribed the work to Caṇḍeśvara himself who was undoubtedly a scholar of great repute. I may quote the following *śloka* on the point:—

श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहारशुद्धि-  
पूजाविवादेषु तथा गृहस्थे ।  
रत्नाकरा रत्नसुवो निबद्धाः  
कृतास्तुलापुस्तकेन सप्त ॥

Instances of Rajas and their ministers having been authors or commentators of great reputation are not rare in India. It seems to me that there is no inherent improbability in the widely accepted belief that Caṇḍeśvara was the actual writer of the books that bear his name.

Vireśvara's second son Dhireśvara was also a great Paṇḍit. Vidyāpati Thakkura the great bard of Mithilā and the author of the *Puruṣa-parikṣā* and *Durgābhaktitarāṅginī* was his great-grandson. One of their living descendants is Badri Nath Thākura who is sixteenth in descent from Dhireśvara and thirteenth from Vidyāpati. He and his collaterals now live at Saurāt.

Vireśvara's third son, Guṇeśvara, was also a minister, and his son Rāmadatta was known as a learned writer.



*The Later Mughals* (1707-1803).—By WILLIAM IRVINE, *Bengal Civil Service* (Retired).

In continuation of the articles in Part I of the *Journal* for 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 136-212, for 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 141-166, and 1903, Vol. LXXII, pp. 33-64.

#### CHAPTER V.—RAFI'-UD-DARAJĀT (1719).

##### SECTION 1.—EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE ACCESSION.

The new emperor, a consumptive youth of twenty years of age, was proclaimed under the style and titles of Abū, l-barakā, Sultān Shams-ud-din, Muḥammad Rafi'-ud-darajāt, Bādshāh, Ghāzi. Within and without the palace, in every audience-hall and at every door, the Sayyads placed men of their own. A chronogram for the accession was found :

- "When Rafi'-ud-darajāt ascended the throne
- "The sun appeared in the heavens out of 'Arafāt :
- "The sage, seeing the lustre and strength of his wisdom,
- "Brought forth the date, 'His title is High of Dignity'."<sup>1</sup>

At the first audience, on the prayer of Mahārājah Ajit Singh, Rājah Bhīm Singh of Kotah, and Rājah Ratn Cand, the *jizyah* or poll-tax, was again abolished. In other respects as few changes as possible were made, even the *wālāshāhīs* or personal troops of the late sovereign being retained in the service. The object was to dispel anxiety and restore order without delay. Muḥammad Amin Khān was maintained in his post of second Bakhshī, Zafar Khān, Roshan-ud-daulah, replaced Saifullah Khān in that of third Bakhshī, and the office of fourth Bakhshī was left in abeyance. For seven days there was much confusion, and few men attended the imperial audience-hall; the people generally stood aloof, and also many of the officials. Nizām-ul-mulk kept close at home,

<sup>1</sup> *Nishist ba-takht cūn Rafi'-ud-darajāt*  
*Goi dar 'arah sar kashīd az 'Arafāt :*  
*Pir-i-khīrad cū did ba farr-o-shukoh*  
*Tārīkh āmad, "Laqb-i-rafi'-ud-darajāt."* (1131).

A second is :

*Kih nāgāh Wazīr raqm kard o guft;*  
*"Mubārīk jalūs-i-shāhānshāh-i-ḥaqq."* (1131).  
 "The morning star seized the pen and said ;  
 "Blessed be the righteous king's accession."

*Jām-i-jam*, and *Miftāḥ* 304, Khāfi Khān, II, 816, Mirzā Muḥammad, 462.



but his cousin Muḥammad Amīn Khān was, in a way, friendly to the Sayyads; and Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah "resorting to fox-like tactics" came over to their party.<sup>1</sup>

The distant *ṣūbahs* were left in the same hands as before, with a few exceptions, special arrangements being made for Mālwah and Kābul. Sarbuland Khān had been nominated to the latter province some months before, and had gone one or two stages on his journey. On learning that Farrukhsiyar had been deposed, he returned by himself to Dihli, and his appointment having been confirmed, he left again on the 19th Rabi' II (10th March, 1719). There remained Nizām-ul-mulk, and it was urgent that he should be induced to quit the capital. The Sayyads feared mischief from the Mughals, the strongest in numbers and in fluence of any of the numerous groups into which their opponents were divided. At the last moment Muḥammad Amīn Khān had elected to take their side against Farrukhsiyar; but Nizām-ul-mulk, as his habit was, had declined to declare himself. The government of Patnah had been assigned to him on the 18th Rabi' (7th February, 1719); but apparently he was not anxious to proceed there. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, as usual, was for the employment of violent measures; he thought Nizām-ul-mulk should be assassinated. Quṭb-ul-mulk preferred to detach him from his friends, believing that when thus weakened, he could more easily be got rid of. Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah adhered to the latter view. The Sayyads, though good soldiers, were poor politicians; and "since a leader without wisdom is no better than a common soldier," they thus made ready the way for their own downfall.

Nizām-ul-mulk was offered Mālwah. At first he declined it; and it was only upon a solemn promise of non-revocation that he accepted. He left the capital on the 24th Rabi' II (15th March, 1719), taking with him all his family and property; and although repeatedly urged to do so, he would not leave even his son to represent him at court. He was followed by all the Mughals who had been out of employ since the fall of Mir Jumlah, and he reached his headquarters in about two months. Another change which led to future difficulties was the removal of Marāḥmat Khān, son of Amīr Khān, from the charge of Māndū. He had given dire offence to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān by neglecting to pay his respects, when the Amīr-ul-umarā had passed near that fortress on his way from the Dakhin to Dehli.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 817, Kāmwar Khān 197, *Aḥwāl-i-Ḥawāqīn*, 146a, 152b.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 188, *Aḥwāl-i-Ḥawāqīn*, 152a, Shiū Dās, 26b. The form of *farmān* to the governors can be seen from a translation of that to Ja'far Khān, governor of Bengal, in C. R. Wilson, "Early Annals," III, entry No. 1269 (consultation of March 19th, 1719 O. S.).



The faujdārship of Murādābād was given to Saif-ud-din 'Alī Khān, younger brother of the *wazīr*; Muḥammad Riṣā became chief *qāzī*, Mir Khān, 'Ālamgiri, was made *Ṣadr-uṣ ṣudūr* or Grand Almoner, Diyānat Khān, Khwāfi (grandson of Amānat Khān)<sup>1</sup> was appointed *Diwān* of the *Khālīṣah*, and Rājah Bakht Mall made *dīwān* of the *Tan*. Himmat Khān, a protégé of Qutb-ul-mulk's, was given a subordinate post connected with the audience-chamber, and entrusted with the care of the young Emperor as his tutor and guardian.

The next task was to proceed against the persons and property of Farrukhsīyar's chief adherents. I'tiqād Khān (Mḥd. Murād) was sent as a prisoner to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's house, his *jāgīrs* were resumed, and all his property confiscated. He had managed to make away with a great deal, but much was recovered. By one account, it took ten to fifteen days to remove the immense store of valuables that he had obtained through the unwise liberality of Farrukhsīyar. I'tiqād Khān now disappears from our story, and ending his days in obscurity, he died at Dehli on the 12th Ramaṣān 1139 H. (2nd May, 1727) at the age of seventy-two years. The *jāgīrs* of the late Sādāt Khān, father-in-law, and of Shāistah Khān, maternal uncle of the late Emperor, were resumed; as were also those of Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, late general of the artillery, and of Afzal Khān, the late *Ṣadr*. The allowances and lands of Farrukhsīyar's wife, the daughter of Mabārājah Ajit Singh were not interfered with.<sup>2</sup>

A few days after the accession of the new sovereign, the Mahrattas under Bālā Jī, the *peshwā*, who had come in Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's train, received their dismissal for the Dakhin (29th Rabi' II, 1131 H., 30th March, 1719), taking with them Madan Singh, the younger son of Sambhā Jī and some female members of his family who had been prisoners since the days of 'Ālamgīr. The Mahrattas also took with them at this time three important documents, a grant of the *chauth* of the Dakhin provinces, one for the *sardeshmukhī* of the same, and one for the *swarāj* or hereditary states.<sup>3</sup> The first dated the 22nd Rabi' II, 1131 H. (13th

<sup>1</sup> 'Alī Nakī (Diyānat Khān), d. 1151, H., 1738 A.D., *Ma'āṣir-ul-umārā*, II, 70, was the son of 'Abd-ul-qādir (Diyānat Khān) d. 1124 H., 1712-13, *id.* II, 59, son of Mu'in-ud-dīn Aḥmad (Amānat Khān) d. 1095, H., 1683-4, *id.* I, 258.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 199, Khāfi Khān, II, 817, Mḥd. Qāsim Lāhori, 253, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, year 1139 H. Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān (afterwards Sādāt Khān, Zu'lfiqar Jang) was the eldest son of the Sādāt Khān above named. He died after Muḥarram 1170 H. (September-October 1756), see *Ma'āṣir-ul-umārā*, II, 524. Sayyad Afzal Khān, Ṣadr Jahān, died late in Rabi' II, or early in Jamādī I, 1138 H. (Jan. 1725) at Shāhjahānābād (*T-i-Mḥdi*).

<sup>3</sup> *Chauth*, literally "one-fourth," 1/4th of the revenue collections; *sardesh*,



March, 1719), gave them one-fourth of the revenue of all the six *sūbahs* of the Dakhin, including the tributary states of Tānjor, Trichinopoly and Maisūr. The second dated the 4th Jamādī I, (24th March, 1719) was for 10 per cent. of the remaining three-fourths of the same revenues. The *swarāj* were the territories in Shivā Ji's possession at the time of his death in 1681, now confirmed to his grandson with certain modifications.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 2.—QUARREL OVER THE SPOILS.

'Abdullah Khān, making use of his position within the palace and fort, had taken possession of all the buried treasure, the jewel-house, the armoury, and all the imperial establishments. He had also resumed the *jāgīrs* of over two-hundred of Farrakhsīyar's officers, and of the relations of Bahādur Shāh and 'Ālamgīr. Within two or three days' time these were all granted afresh to his own officers and dependants. This procedure was greatly objected to by Husain 'Alī Khān; and the two brothers almost came to drawing their swords upon each other. Ratn Cand, who is described as the "key of 'Abdullah Khān's wits," intervened with smooth words, caused the *jāgīrs* of the dismissed nobles to be granted to Husain 'Alī Khān's followers, and thus put an end to the strife. He reminded the brothers that they had lately behaved in a way to anger both God and man, and if they wished for their own preservation from the clutches of rival nobles, it was absolutely necessary for them to suppress all differences and act heart and soul together. If they did not act in agreement, the Mughal leaders would rend them to pieces.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION 3.—POPULAR OUTCRY AGAINST AJIT SINGH.

As already mentioned, Ajit Singh when he passed through the bazars was followed by cries of "Slayer of his son-in-law" (*dāmād-kush*). Insulting words were written on pieces of paper and stuck upon the door of his house, and one day cow bones were thrown down among the vessels he used in daily worship. The *Wazīr* seized two or three

*mukhī*, the allowances of a *sardeshmukh*, [*Sar*, "chief," *des*, "country," *mukh*, "head"]; *Swa*, "own," *rāj*, "territory."

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 199. Grant Duff (Bombay edition), 199 and note, where he says that these grants were made out in the name of Muḥammad Shāh. No doubt, the above dates fall in the 1st year of that reign by the official reckoning; but if the deeds were actually issued on the dates they bear, they must have been made out in the name of Rafī'ud-darajāt, for Muḥammad Shāh's accession being then hidden in the future, the fact that at a subsequent date that accession would be ante-dated could not be known to anyone.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 196, Khāfi Khān, II, 822.



Kashmiris who had been guilty of calling out abusive words when the Rājah passed them, and caused them to be paraded with ignominy seated upon asses. But the Kashmiri boys followed, and shouted that this was the fitting punishment of the faithless and evil-minded, (meaning, of Ajit Singh himself). The Rājah to escape these insults was in haste to quit Dehli. After receiving large gifts in cash and jewels, he obtained an order for returning to his government of Gujarāt (17th Jamādi II., 6th May, 1719). Within a few days, however, events occurred which hindered him from carrying out his intention.<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 4.—NEKŪSĪYAR PROCLAIMED AT ĀGRAH.

During the weeks which followed the deposition of Farrukhsīyar, rumours of many sorts were prevalent. Suspicion chiefly rested on Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, Rājah Chabelah Rām, governor of Allahābād, and Nawāb Nizām-ul-mulk, the new governor of Mālwah. A combination of these three nobles was supposed to be imminent. As to the last of them, it may be doubted whether there was any sufficient ground for these assertions. The other two men were, however, notorious partizans of Farrukhsīyar, Chabelah Rām and his family owing their elevation entirely to that emperor and his father, 'Azīm-ush-shān. In the case of those two nobles, there was undoubtedly some foundation for the popular belief. The centre of danger appeared to be Akbarābād, where Nekūsīyar and other members of the imperial house were in prison. A pretender might be set up from among these princes; and against this possibility special precautions must be taken. Ghairat Khān, the Sayyads' nephew, was hurried off to his new government, so that he might reach Āgrah before Nizām-ul-mulk passed through it on his way to Mālwah. A new commandant, Samandar Khān, was appointed (16th Jamādi II, 1131 H., 5th May, 1719) to take charge of the fort at Āgrah. Much treasure was still in the vaults of that stronghold, and the new government was anxious to obtain control of this money themselves, and prevent its falling into anyone else's hands. To take charge of these hoards Dāwar Dād Khān accompanied Samandar Khān; but in addition to this ostensible errand, everyone believed that he had been commissioned to blind Nekūsīyar and the other princes. On the 1st Rajab 1131 H. (19th May, 1719) word was brought to Dibli that the new commandant had been refused admission by the Āgrah garrison, who had set up a rival emperor in the person of Prince Nekūsīyar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, 823, Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 263, 264, Kāmwar Khān, 202, *Sicānīh-Khizri*, f.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 202, Shiū Dās, 26 b. Khāfī Khān, II, 827.



Nekūsiyar, eldest surviving son of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, the fourth son of the Emperor 'Ālamgir, was born in Sha'bān 1090 H. (September, October 1679)<sup>1</sup>. Early in Muḥarram 1092 H. (January 1681). Prince Akbar fled from his father's camp, and joining the Pāthors, laid claim to the throne. His property was at once confiscated by 'Ālamgir, and his wife, two sons, Nekūsiyar and Mḥd. Aṣghar, and two daughters were made prisoners. A few days afterwards Prince Akbar's family was sent off from Ajmer to Akbarābād.<sup>2</sup> Here Nekūsiyar had been a state prisoner ever since, and although now over forty years of age had never set foot outside the fort. His ignorance is described, no doubt with some exaggeration, as so great that when he saw a cow or horse, he asked what sort of animal it was and what it was called.<sup>3</sup>

Accounts vary as to the part taken in the plot by Ṣafī Khān, the displaced qila'hdār.<sup>4</sup> Some describe him as a willing agent, or even the originator of in the conspiracy; others make him out to have acted under compulsion from the mutinous garrison. He had been transferred by the Sayyads from Kālinjar to Āgrah only a short time before (17th Sha'bān 1130 H., 15th July, 1718), and in those few months could not have acquired such influence over the garrison as to induce it to follow him in such an ambitious undertaking. Moreover, he was by this time nearly seventy years of age and thus not very likely to be a willing sharer in such a revolt. Some say that among the men mixed

<sup>1</sup> His birth was reported to his grandfather on the 1st Zū'l Qa'dah 1090 H. (4th December, 1679), *Ma, āḡir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 182. He was the third son.

<sup>2</sup> The wife and family were despatched on the 16th Muḥarram 1092 H. (5th February, 1681), *Ma, āḡir-i-Ālamgīrī* 204. Another son, Buland Akhtar, and two daughters were born to Prince Akbar after his rebellion, and were left with the Rāthors upon his flight to the Dakhin. The boy was surrendered to 'Ālamgir on the 20th Zū'l Qa'dah 1109 H. (30th May, 1698) by Durgā Dās, Rāthor, as a peace-offering: he died in prison at Aḥmadnagar on the 29th Rabī 'II, 1118 H. (9th August, 1706) and was buried in the Bihisht Bāgh there, *Ma, āḡir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 395, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, year 1118 H., and Kām Rāj, 'Ibratnāmah, fol. 69a, Bhīm Sen, *Nuskḥah-i-dilkushā*, fol. 157b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ma, āḡir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 202, 203.

<sup>4</sup> Mirzā 'Abd-us-salām, first Mūmin Khān, then Ṣafī Khān, died early in Rajab 1137 H. (March 1725) at Dihlī, aged over 70 years. He was son-in-law of his uncle, Ashraf Khān (d. 1097 H., 1685-6). His brother, Islām Khān (Mīr Aḥmad, formerly Barkhūrdār Khān) died in 1144 H. (1731-2) aged 77. Their father was Ṣafī Khān (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), second son of Islām Khān, Mashhadī, (Mīr 'Abd-us-salām) whose first title was Ikhtisās Khān, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *Ma, āḡir-ul-umawā*, I, 162-167, I. 272, II. 741, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, years 1057, 1097, 1105, 1137, 1144 H., *Burhān-ul-fatāḥ*, 162a, 167a.



up in this Āgrah rising were Rūp Lāl, Kāyath, brother of Hirā Lāl, the *dīwān* of Sher Afgan Khān, Pānīpatī, and one Himmat, a *hazārī*, or officer of garrison artillery. But there can be no doubt that the prime mover was Mitr Sen, a Nāgar Brahman.<sup>1</sup>

This Mitr Sen resided in the fort of Āgrah, in the employ of Prince Nekūsiyar. He had some knowledge of physic. Through this means, and money-lending, he acquired considerable influence among the *hazārīs* and *Baksariyāhs* forming the garrison.<sup>2</sup> When, a few months before this time Husain 'Ali Khān passed through Āgrah, on his way from the Dakhīn to Dihlī, Mitr Sen, introduced by some of the Bakhshī's attendants and some fellow-Brahmans, obtained access to the audience-hall, and thus became known by sight to the Mir Bakhshī.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the Sayyad's old wounds having opened afresh and given him trouble, Mitr Sen offered his services as surgeon, and in this way obtained private speech with Husain 'Ali Khān. From some of the Mir Bakhshī's intimates he had wormed out the secret that Farrukhsiyar would soon be dethroned. This inspired him with the idea that Nekūsiyar might be proposed as a candidate for the vacant throne. The artillery officers entered into the plan. Mitr Sen thereupon, without gaining over any great noble, or even consulting Nekūsiyar, made overtures in the prince's name to Husain 'Ali Khān. The latter, enraged that his secret intention should have been divined, directed that Mitr Sen should no longer be admitted to his presence.<sup>4</sup>

Mitr Sen made his escape. He is supposed to have gone now to Rājah Jai Singh at Amber, where conditions were agreed on with him, and a letter addressed by Rājah Jai Singh to Rājah Chabelah Rām, governor of Allahābād, was made over to him. It was also believed that Mitr Sen visited Nizām-ul-mulk when he passed through Āgrah, but from him no definite answer was obtained. The secret of this interview was not kept; and it was the receipt of a report about it that

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 267, styles him a Tiwārī, which is a sub-division of the Gaur Brahmins. Kāmwar Khān, 180, *Burhān-ul-fatūḥ*, 167a.

<sup>2</sup> *Hazārī* (literally, "having a thousand") is the name for a captain of artillery. Sometimes they are called by the Turkish word *minkbāshī*, "head of one thousand." *Baksariyāh* means a footsoldier or militia man. Apparently the name is derived from Baksar on the Ganges, a fort in *parganah* Bhojpur of *Ṣubāh* Bahār, if we are to trust Rāe Chatarman, *Chahār gulshan*, fol. 127b, who in an itinerary from Bareilly to Patna enters "Baksar, original home of the Baksariyāhs."

<sup>3</sup> I doubt if Āgrah can be the right place of meeting, for Husain 'Ali Khān does not seem to have passed through it on his way to Dihlī. I tell the story as Khāfī Khān does: the rest of the facts are probably correct.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, 825.



led to the appointment of Samandar Khān, a man of high rank, as a new commander in the fort.<sup>1</sup>

When Samandar Khān reached Gāo-ghāt on the Jamnah, a few miles north-west of Āgrah, he called upon the garrison and all the establishments to come out to greet him and escort him into the fort. Instead of obeying this order, the garrison after a consultation returned word that their pay for three years was due, that they did not know who was now emperor, that they were not acquainted with any *qila'h-dār* of the name of Samandar Khān. Mitr Sen was in the plot. On the 29th Jamādī II, (18th May, 1719), Nekūsiyar and his two nephews were brought out by the soldiers; the former was placed on a throne and homage was paid to him as emperor. Coin was issued in his name with the inscription:

*Ba zar zad sikkah sāhib-qirānī  
Shāh Nekūsiyar, Taimūr-i-ṣānī.*

“On gold struck coin the Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction,  
“The Emperor Nekūsiyar, a second Taimūr.”<sup>2</sup>

Mitr Sen was raised to the rank of commander of 7,000 horse with the title of Rājah Birbal and the office of *wazīr*. One *kror* and eighty *lākhs* of rupees were withdrawn from the treasure-house and distributed among the garrison. The next day Nekūsiyar with two nephews was brought to an open building<sup>3</sup> over the main gate, a royal umbrella being held over his head. With both hands the prince made reassuring gestures in the direction of the crowd, which had assembled in the open space below the gate, while Mitr Sen, now become Rājah Birbal, poured gold over his head. Soon men hurried to the fort from all directions and offered to enlist. Blacksmiths, bullet-founders, and other artisans were brought into the fort, and a new *koṣwāl*, or chief police officer, was placed in charge of the city on behalf of the pretender.<sup>4</sup>

Hostilities were commenced by the garrison firing upon the mansion (known as that of Islām Khān) occupied by Ghairat Khān, the new *nāẓim* of the province. This house was in a very exposed position, to the west of and almost immediately under the fort. Ghairat Khān,

<sup>1</sup> Samandar Khān's rank was 3000, 2000 horse, *Shiū Dās*, fol. 27a.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 825. *Sāhib-i-qirān* is one of the titles of Taimūr, the founder of the dynasty. In the British Museum collection there is no coin with this distinction. The one assigned to Nekūsiyar (“Catalogue,” p. 197) is hardly likely to be his; it is more probably an abnormal issue of Muḥammad Shāh's coinage. The same objection applies to those in Rodgers, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> It is called a *baṅgalah*, i.e., four pillars supporting a roof.

<sup>4</sup> *Shiū Dās*, 27a, Khāfi Khān, II, 827.



most of whose men were dispersed in the *ṣubah* for the purpose of bringing in revenue, wished to abandon the house. He was, however, dissuaded by his officers, Sanjar Khān and Shams̄her Khān, *Walā-shāhis*. He therefore maintained his position, recalled his horsemen, and proceeded to enlist more troops. The facts were reported to the *Wazir* at Dihli.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as a camel-rider had brought the news to Dihli, Rājah Bhīm Singh, Hādā, and Curāman Jāt,<sup>2</sup> the latter of whom had been for some time a sort of prisoner at large, were hurried off to reinforce the *Nāgim*. With them went Haidar Qulī Khān, 'Iwaz Khān and Asad 'Alī Khān. The sons of Ṣafī Khān and his brother, Islām Khān, were arrested and sent to prison, their *jāgīrs* being also confiscated. The Sayyad brothers held a consultation, and it was decided that one or the other must proceed to Āgrah at the head of an army. The duty was undertaken by Husain 'Alī Khān. On the 7th Rajab 1131 H. (25th May, 1719) he marched to Bārahpulah, south of the city, and there began to collect his men and make other preparations. A letter was written to Ghairat Khān assuring him of the speedy arrival of the *Amir-ul-umarā*.<sup>3</sup>

#### SECTION 5.—EVENTS AT ĀGRAH.

Nekūsiyar's partisans, instead of coming out and taking advantage of Ghairat Khān's weakness, clung to the shelter of the fort walls. They lost in this way their only chance of striking a vigorous blow for their new master. In two or three days Ghairat Khān had recovered from his surprise, and his troops began to pour in to his succour. He was soon at the head of four or five thousand men, and able to take the offensive. His right-hand man at this difficult moment was Haidar Qulī Khān.<sup>4</sup> This officer having fallen into disgrace for his oppressive

<sup>1</sup> There is a copy of the report in *Shiū Dās*, 28a; see also *id.* 27a and *Khāfi Khān*, II, 828.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Kām Rāj*, *'Ibratnāmah*, 68a, Curāman now received a gift of the country twenty days' journey in length and breadth, extending from the Bārahpulah bridge outside Dihli to the borders of Gwāliyār. This means that he was appointed to be *rāhdār* or road-guardian of this extent of country.

<sup>3</sup> There is a copy of the letter in *Shiū Dās*, fol. 28b.

<sup>4</sup> In 1126 H. (1714-15) Haidar Qulī Khān, Isfarāinī, was made *dībān* of the Dakhin, and all appointments and removals were left to him. Nizām-ul-mulk, then *nāgim*, did not get on with him, *Burhān*, 165a, *Khāfi Khān*, II, 740. He reached court on return from the Dakhin on the 6th Zū'l Qa'dah 1127H. (2nd November, 1715), *Kāmwar Khān*, 158. He was appointed to Bandar Sūrat on the 3rd Muḥarram 1128H. (28th December, 1715), *id.*, 161, and made *faujdār* of Sorāth, 21st Sha'bān 1128 H. (9th August, 1716), *id.*, 166; he was sent for to court on the 22nd Rajab 1130H. (20th June 1718) *id.*, 179.



measures, had not long before passed through Āgrah on his way from Aḥmadābād to Dihli, where a very hostile reception awaited him. On arriving at Akbarābād he propitiated Ghairat Khān so effectively that through him he gained the good offices of Ratn Cand, the *wazīr's* chief advisor. As soon as the disturbance broke out at Āgrah, he was sent off in great haste from Dihli to the assistance of Ghairat Khān. In a short time the activity he displayed in the operations at Āgrah so won for him the good opinion of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, that he made an intimate friend of him, and finally obtained his pardon from Quṭb-ul-mulk, the *wazīr*.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the rebellion had made no progress: it had not spread outside the walls of the fort. Rājah Jai Singh had, indeed, come out several stages from Amber as far as Todah Tānk,<sup>2</sup> but before declaring himself further, he awaited news from Nizām-ul-mulk and Chabelah Rām. From a letter which fell afterwards into Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's hands, it would appear that Nizām-ul-mulk gave no encouragement; while Chabelah Rām was detained in his province by the revolt of Jasan Singh, a zamindār of Kālpī, who was encouraged to resist by messages from the *wazīr* conveyed through Muḥammad Khān, Bangash. Meanwhile, although unable to make any impression on the fort, Ghairāt Khān held his own. Curāman, Jāt, had managed to collect men of his own tribe, the chief leaders being Gobind Singh, Jāt, and the sons of Nandā, Jāt. Sayyad Ḥasan Khān from Gwāliyār and the Rājah of Bhadāwar had also joined the besiegers. There was some fighting, but Ṣafī Khān, owing to the arrest at Dihli of his children and brother, was dejected, and did not act with much vigour. Still, some sorties were attempted. One night the Jāt and other peasant levies made an attack on the camp. Suddenly a store-house for the grain and grass which had been brought in from the surrounding country, was set on fire, but before the flames reached any height, heavy rain began to fall, and little damage was done. Deserters from the besieging force began to make their way into the fort. One day four of them were caught. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān condemned them to be blown away from guns in the presence of the whole army.<sup>3</sup> From that time Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in person took the roll-call of the army, and further desertions ceased.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 823, 824, 828.

<sup>2</sup> This must mean the Todah about sixty miles east of Jaipur and eighty miles south-west of Āgrah.

<sup>3</sup> For the providential escape of one of these men, see Khāfi Khān, II, 834.

<sup>4</sup> *Sicūniyā-i-Mizri*, and Mbd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 269.



## SECTION 6.—NEKŪSIYAR MAKES OVERTURES.

Letters in the name of Nekūsiyar came to the two Sayyads and other high-placed nobles, such as Muḥammad Amin Khān, offering terms, if they would accept him as emperor. The letters said: "What new-born child is this that has been placed on the throne of Hindū-stān? Never before has anyone thought, or even dreamt, of passing over an elder for a younger heir. As for the seizure, imprisonment, and death of Muḥammad Farrakhsiyar, those events had been decreed by the Eternal. Let them (*i.e.*, the Sayyads) wrapping the head of shame in the skirt of humbleness, make due submission. No revenge will be taken, but all their rank and dignities will be maintained as before." Qutb-ul-mulk, always ready to take the easiest way out of a difficulty, proposed to make terms with Nekūsiyar and bring him to Dihli. Husain 'Ali Khān, on the other hand, looking on the Āgrah revolt as a sort of personal insult, would hear of no compromise. For a long time Qutb-ul-mulk was not satisfied, and even after his brother had moved out to Bārahpulāh, visited him there several times with the object of persuading him to accept Nekūsiyar's proposal.<sup>1</sup>

Qutb-ul-mulk argued that they had no quarrel with the prince, why should they meet him with force? Why not seat him on the throne? Even if he should try to form a party among the nobles; he, Qutb-ul-mulk, saw no one from whom any danger need be anticipated. Husain 'Ali Khān could not be moved from his own ideas. "If Āgrah were a fort of steel set in an encircling ocean, he would with one blow from his finger strike it down, so that beyond a little mud and dust, no sign of it should be left on earth." Who were these "crows," these few wretches, who had dared to interfere with their designs! All haste must be made to suppress the outbreak by force.<sup>2</sup>

## SECTION 7.—THE SAYYADS' CONDUCT TOWARDS RAFI'-UD-DARAJĀT.

During the few months that he was Emperor, Rafi'-ud-darajāt was completely in the power of the two Sayyads. Until this time, the emperors, however much they might leave state affairs in the hands of a minister or favourite, retained complete control over their own palace and person, and no man could be prevented from access to them. Ultimate power resided in their hands, and they could at any time transfer authority from one minister to another. In this reign all this was

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 270.

<sup>2</sup> Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 272, 273, Anonymous History, B. M. Oriental MS. No. 1747.



changed. At first, the palace was guarded by the Sayyads' most trusted soldiers, and all offices within it were held by their nominees. On the 14th Jamādi I (3rd May, 1719) a concession to propriety was so far made that the hereditary doorkeepers and palace servants were allowed to return to duty. But the change was more nominal than real. It is asserted that even then the Emperor's meals were not served without the express order of his tutor, Himmat Khān, a Bārhab Sayyad. The young Emperor was allowed little liberty, and in his short reign he seldom left the palace. He visited Qutb-ul-mulk on the 19th Jamādi I (8th April, 1719) at his house in the Moti Bāgh, to condole with him on the death of a daughter. He paid another visit to Husain 'Ali Khān on the 14th Jamādi II (3rd May, 1719); and he also went on one hunting expedition to Shakkarpur (24th Jamādi I, 3rd April).<sup>1</sup>

In addition to keeping the strictest watch over Rafi'-ud-darajāt, the Sayyads' conduct was in other respects indecorous and reprehensible. Qutb-ul-mulk, a man of pleasure, not content with a harem already filled with women collected from far and near, carried off two or three of the most beautiful women from the imperial harem. One writer, Khushhāl Cand, makes a still more scandalous accusation against him. Through Šadr-un-nissā, head of the harem, he sent a message to 'Ināyat Bāno, the Emperor's wife, that he had fallen in love with her. The go-between executed her task, only to meet with an absolute refusal. Again she was sent to urge his suit; "like a longing lover, he was fast bound by the long curling locks of that fairy." 'Ināyat Bāno writhed at the insult, undid her hair, which was over a yard long, cut it off, and threw it in the face of her tempter.<sup>2</sup> The younger brother's sin being pride, he displayed his disrespect in another manner. One day he was present alone with Rafi'-ud-darajāt in his private chapel (*tasbiḥkhānah*). The Emperor sat down on his chair. At once, without waiting for permission, Husain 'Ali Khān, sat down in front of him.<sup>3</sup> Highly-placed orientals are rarely at fault on such occasions, and Rafi'-ud-darajāt showed his usual readiness at rebuking an affront. Stretching out his feet in the direction of Husain 'Ali Khān, he said: "Draw

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 200, *Siucnīḥ-i-Khizri*.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the evidence of Khushhāl Cand, a contemporary and a resident of Dīhli, I fear that this story about the princess' cutting off her hair, must be treated as what lawyers call "common form." It is also related by N. Manucci, Phillips MS. No. 1945, Part I, p. 261, in regard to Ra'nā Dīl, one of the widows of Dārā Shukoh, when summoned to his harem by 'Alamgir.

<sup>3</sup> No one sat in the Emperor's presence without his order or permission. Yabī Khān, 127a, has a version of this story, but he ascribes it to Rafi'-ud-daulah.



off my stockings (*mozah*).” Although inwardly raging, Husain ‘Ali Khān could do nothing else but comply.<sup>1</sup>

That the young man was not altogether devoid of sense, is proved by the story of a dispute that arose once between Qutb-ul-mulk and Rafi‘-ud-darajāt. A warrant of appointment having been signed, next day the *wazīr* brought a second order giving the same post to another nominee. The Emperor asked: “Is it the same village, or another with the same name?” He was told it was the same one, but this man was fit for the place and offered more than the other. The Emperor said it was foolishness to act like that, and threw the paper on the floor.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION 8.—THE EMPEROR’S DEPOSITION AND DEATH.

In the confusion and hurry attending his accession, no heed had been paid to the state of Rafi‘-ud-darajāt’s health. He was afterwards found to be far advanced in consumption, he was also addicted to the use of opium; and from the day that he ascended the throne, he became weaker and weaker. By the middle of Rajab (June) it was evident that his days were numbered. He then told the Sayyads that if they would comply with his most earnest desire, and raise to the throne his elder brother, Rafi‘-ud-daulah, he should die happy. Accordingly on the 17th Rajab (4th June 1719) Rafi‘-ud-darajāt was deposed and sent back into the harem. Two days afterwards (6th June, 1719), Rafi‘-ud-daulah was seated on the throne in the Public Audience-hall within the palace at Dihli. On the 24th Rajab (11th June, 1719) Rafi‘-ud-darajāt expired, and was buried near the shrine of Khwājah Qutb-ud-din.<sup>3</sup>

#### APPENDIX (Rafi‘-ud-darajāt).

*Age.* At his death Rafi‘-ud-darajāt was about twenty years of age; the words *wāris-i-tāj* (1111 H.), “heir to the crown,” giving the year of his birth, Khāfi Khān, II, 816. The *Jām-i-Jam* gives the precise date as the 8th Jamādi II, 1111 H. (30th November, 1699); Mirzā Muḥammad, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, declares that he was only sixteen or seventeen years of age at his death. A chronogram for that event is:—

*Cūn jān-i-Shahanshāh Rafi‘-ud-darajāt*  
*Rah just ba sāyah-i-nihāl-i-tūbā,*  
*Rizwān ba dar-i-bihisht iqdām kunān*  
*Guftā : “khuld-i-barīn maqām o māwā.”*

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 821, Khushhal Cand, B.M. MS. No. 3288, fol. 415a.

<sup>2</sup> Yahyā Khān, 127b.

<sup>3</sup> Wārid, 159a, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥaffari*, 165.



"When the soul of the Lord of Lords, Rafi'-ud-darajāt  
 "Sought the shade of the tree of goodness,  
 "Rizwān greeting him at the gate of Paradise  
 "Cried: 'Most blessed of abodes and asylums.'"

(*Jām-i-Jam*, and *Miftāh*, 304).

*Reign.* He reigned from his accession on the 9th Rabi' II to his deposition on the 17th Rajab 1131 H., for a period of three months and nine days.

*Titles.*—His style and title as Emperor was Abū-l-barakāt, Saltān Shams-ud-dīn, Muḥammad Rafi'-ud-darajāt, Bādshāh, Ghāzi. (Mirzā Muḥammad, *Tazkirah*, 470).

*Coin.*—The distich placed upon his coin was:

*Zad sikkah ba Hind bā hazārān barakāt*  
*Shāhan-shāh-i-baḥr-o-bar, Rafi'-ud-darajāt.*

"Coin was struck in Hind, with a thousand blessings,  
 "By the king of kings on land and sea, Rafi'-ud-darajāt."

But on the second day of the reign Qutb-ul-mulk called on Faṭḥ Khān, Fāzil, to provide a couplet which should allow of a different word for gold coins (*ashrafi*) and silver coins (rupees), as was the case with 'Ālamgir's coinage. The poet on the spur of the moment produced the following lines:

*Sikkah zad Shāh Rafi'-ud-darajāt*  
*Mihr-mānind ba yamīn-o-barakāt.*

"The Emperor Rafi'-ud-darajāt struck coin,  
 "Sun-like, with power and felicity."

On the rupee the word *badr* (moon) was substituted for *mihr* (sun). It is not known whether these lines were ever actually brought into use, as we have no coin on which they appear; but there is another variant on one coin in the Lahore Museum:

*Sikkah-i-mubārik-i-bādshāh-i-ghāzi, Rafi'-ud-darajāt.*<sup>1</sup>

There are twenty-three coins of this reign in the three public collections at London, Calcutta, and Lahore; four of gold and nineteen of silver, all circular in shape. All except one are dated according to the Hijra or the regnal year, or both. All except one coin can be classed under the *ṣubahs* in which their place of mintage was situated. These twenty-two coins belong to ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces; Kashmīr, Taṭṭhah, Ajmer, Gujarāt, Mālwah, Bengal, Orissa and the six Dakhin *ṣubahs* being unrepresented. The number of coins

<sup>1</sup> British Museum Catalogue, p. 372, Lahore Museum Catalogue, p. 206, Kāmwar Khān, 197, Mirzā Muḥammad, 470.



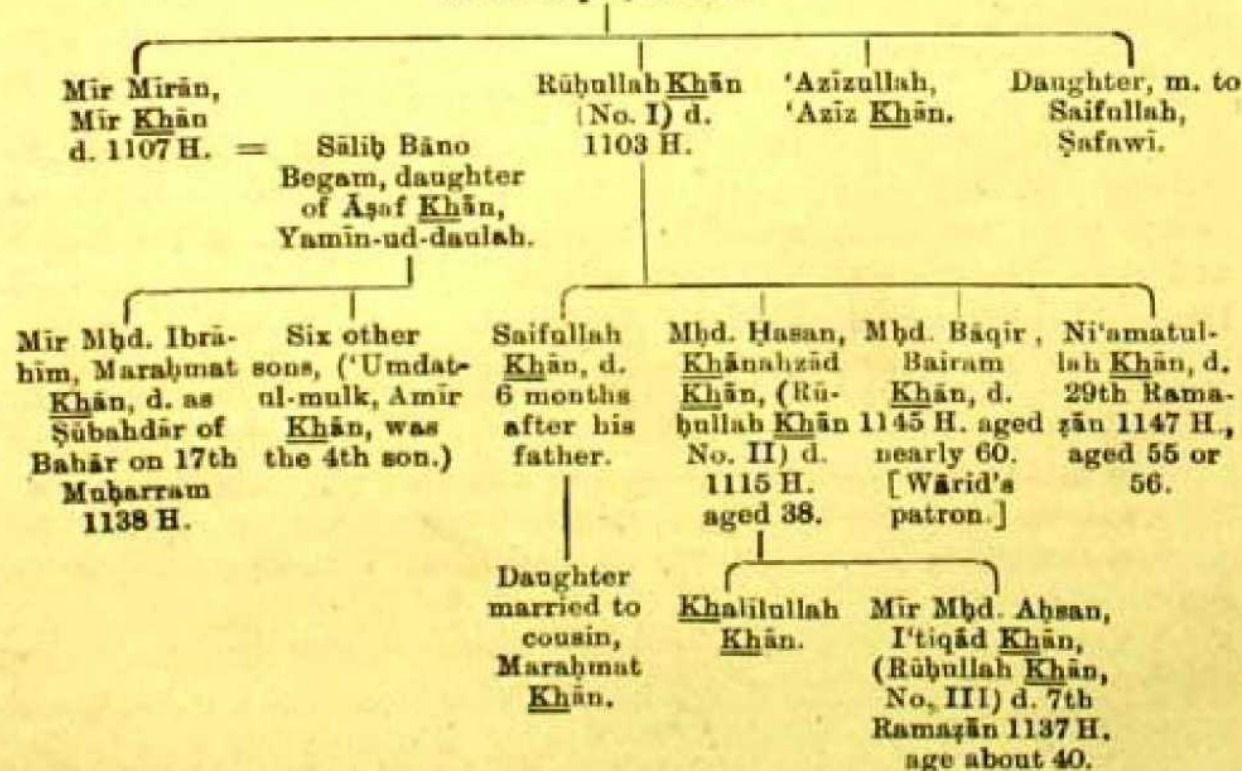
such a critical moment silence seemed the wisest thing. Of those suspected, only a few men openly declared themselves. Rūḥullah Khān, III, son of Rūḥullah Khān, the second of that title<sup>1</sup> had been appointed *faujdar* of Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, but on his way to that place had turned aside and joined Rājāh Jai Singh. Tahavvar Khān, Turānī, had also escaped secretly from Dihli a week after Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had started for Āgrah, and he, too, repaired to Jai Singh's camp by forced marches. Quṭb-ul-mulk sent horsemen in pursuit, but they were unable to overtake the fugitive. Another of these absconders to Jai Singh was Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, brother-in-law of Farrukhsiyar and lately commander of the imperial artillery.<sup>2</sup>

### SECTION 3.—ḤUSAIN 'ALĪ KHĀN'S CAMPAIGN AT ĀGRAH.

At length on the 6th Sha'bān (23rd June, 1719) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān commenced his march.<sup>3</sup> Under his orders were Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin; Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, Khān Daurān; Zafar Khān and others.

<sup>1</sup> The following particulars of this family are taken from the *Ma'āqir-ul-umara'* I, 277, 775, II, 309-315, 315-317, 823, 839, III, 713.

Khalilullah Khān, Yazdī, Ḥusainī, Ni'āmat Ilāhī.  
d. 2nd Rajab, 1072 H.



<sup>1</sup> See ante p. 6, for this man's origin and connections. Kāmwar Khān, 204, Mḥd Qāsim Lāhori, 272, Khāfī Khān, II, 832, *Sincānī-i-Khāfī*.

<sup>2</sup> Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhori, author of the *'Ibratnāmah*, went on this campaign, p. 275. He was in the service of Śūrat Singh, one of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's officers.



Muhammad Khān, Bangash, came in from Sa'dābād<sup>1</sup> on the 20th Sha'bān (7th July, 1719) and followed the main body. At this time many rumours were prevalent. As usual in such cases, dreams or the opinions of soothsayers and astrologers favourable to Nekūsiyar, passed from mouth to mouth. Rājah Jai Singh, people said, was marching from Amber on Āgrah; Chabelah Rām was on his way from Allahābād at the head of thirty thousand men; Nizām-ul-mulk had started to reinforce them with a mighty army; Nekūsiyar, in the garb of a faqir, had escaped from Āgrah and reached the camp of Rājah Jai Singh. Of all these statements the only true one was that Rājah Jai Singh had come out one stage from Amber at the head of nine or ten thousand horsemen, and there awaited the advance of Chabelah Rām. The latter, however, was still busily occupied with the revolt of Jasan Singh of Kālpī, who was backed up by the Afghāns. Nizām-ul-mulk showed no serious intention of taking up the cause of Nekūsiyar.<sup>2</sup>

On the 21st Sha'bān (8th July, 1719) Husain 'Alī Khān reached Sikandrah,<sup>3</sup> within sight of Āgrah; the weather was extremely hot, and a halt was made for three days. On the 25th (12th July) camp was moved to Bāgh Dahr-ārāe.<sup>4</sup> The siege which had been commenced by Ghāirat Khān and Haidar Qulī Khān, was now pressed on with redoubled energy.<sup>5</sup>

#### SECTION 4.—SIEGE OF ĀGRAH FORT.

As soon as he reached Āgrah, Husain 'Alī Khān rode round the fort and fixed in person the sites for the batteries, the side selected for attack being the south, where is the bastion then known as the *Bangālā-burj*, a place which was weakly defended and had no earthwork (*pushtah*) to strengthen the wall. Heavy guns were brought to bear on the walls;<sup>6</sup> but as the wet weather had begun and the rain was heavy,

<sup>1</sup> Sa'dābād, a town in the Ganges-Jamnāh dūābah.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 205, Khāfi Khān, II, 832.

<sup>3</sup> Sikandrah, the place where the Emperor Akbar is buried; it lies west of Āgrah.

<sup>4</sup> Kām Rāj, 'Ibratnāmāh, 69a, Bāgh Dahr-ārā, two kos from the city. See also ante Reign of Bahādur Shāh, p. 26 (not yet published).

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 277.

<sup>6</sup> These guns had each a name, such as *Ghāzī Khān* (Lord Champion), *Sher-dahān* (Tiger-mouth), *Dhām-dhām* (The noisy), and so forth. They carried balls from thirty Shāhjahānī sers to one and a quarter man in weight; attached to each were from one to four elephants, and from six hundred to seventeen hundred draught oxen.



ten and in some cases twenty days were occupied in dragging these cannon the distance, only a mile or two, which separated the camp from the fort. The route through the lanes and bazārs being very narrow, the dwelling-houses and shops were pulled down to allow of the passage of the artillery. Within the fort there are said to have been thirteen hundred cannon, counting those of every kind. From these the garrison artillerymen (the *Baksariyah*) kept up an incessant fire, not allowing themselves a respite even during the night. Damage was done on both sides. Even persons resorting to the river bank to draw water were fired on from the fort, and fell victims. The governor's mansion near the fort was destroyed, the mosque known as the Begam *Ṣāhib's*, standing opposite to the citadel, was injured, the tower and marble steps being struck by shot, and the buildings of the *Tirpoliyā* or triple gate, suffered equally. The besiegers returned the fire and injured the battlements on all four walls, doing also some damage to the *Motī Masjid*. *Ḥaidar Qulī Khān*, who had under his command many Europeans, whom he had brought from *Sūrat*, drove several saps towards the walls. Little effect was, however, produced on the fort; nor did the garrison show any enterprize, or try to open a way through the investing lines and join their friends outside. The attacking force had succeeded in causing the besieged to withdraw within the fort; but beyond this advantage nothing was gained, except that *Ghairat Khān* and *Shamsher Khān*, after a good deal of fighting, took the *cabūtrah* or police office at the fort gate.<sup>1</sup>

The garrison were evidently reserving themselves until they had learnt of the advance of their hoped-for allies. Time passed, and of these helpers there was no word or sign. After a month provisions began to be scarce. Many of those who had joined from the country round began to desert, getting over the walls at night, only to be seized by the *Nawāb's* sentries. These fugitives informed *Ḥusain 'Alī* of the disheartened and suffering condition of the garrison and the depression in *Mitr Sen's* mind. All the good grain had been used up; and nothing was left but inferior pulses, and these had been stored over seven years and smelt so strongly, that even the four-footed beasts would not eat them with avidity. Attempts were made to bring in small supplies of flour, which were dragged up by ropes let down from the battlement. Even some of the artillery in the besieging force engaged in this traffic. After this fact was found out, the strictness of watch was redoubled, anything moving in the river at night was shot at, and

<sup>1</sup> *Shih Dās*, 29a, *Risālah-i-Muḥammad Shāh*, fol. 76b, and *Muḥammad Qāsim*, *Lāhori*, 280.



expert swimmers were kept ready to pursue and seize any one who attempted to escape by way of the river.

Secret overtures were accordingly made to the garrison. In Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's artillery a man was serving named Curā, who had acquaintances within the fort; and through him a message was sent to these men guaranteeing to them their lives and property, if they delivered up Prince Nekūsiyar together with the fort. Curāman Jāt, who commanded at an entrenchment near the fort, opened up similar negotiations. The garrison called these two Curās within the fort, where they placed a pot of Ganges water on their heads and made them swear an oath to carry out faithfully the terms agreed on.<sup>1</sup>

About this time the *hasārīs*, or captains of artillery, had told Mitr Sen that they could not continue the defence. Mitr Sen sent a confidential secretary, Nath Mall, to reassure them. This Nath Mall was the son of Bhūkan Mall, who had been high in the service of Asad Khān, 'Ālamgir's *wazīr*. Instead of listening to his remonstrances, the artillerymen seized Nath Mall and made him over to their friends outside. He was brought before Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, and in his pen-box were found communications to Nekūsiyar from many of the nobles holding commands in the besieging force or offices round the Emperor's person. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān dissembled in this matter as much as possible but his bosom friend, Asad 'Alī Khān, a connection of the celebrated 'Alī Mardān Khān<sup>2</sup> was publicly disgraced. Among the letters found were some from Šamsām-ud-daulah and Zafar Khān Roshan-ud-daulah.<sup>3</sup>

Others captured were Rūp Lāl and his companions, seven men in all, who had been sent to some of the besieging nobles in the hope of winning their adherence to Nekūsiyar's cause. Their captor was Khizr Khān, Pannī; Rūp Lāl was executed. Sayyad Fīrūz 'Alī Khān also made prisoners of Sulaimān Beg and six others. A large sum was offered by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to anyone who would surrender the fort.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shiū Dās, 30a, Mhd. Qāsim, 281, 286, 287.

<sup>2</sup> For 'Alī Mardān Khān, d. 1067 H., 1656-7, see *Ma'āzīr-ul-umardā*, II, 795. He had four sons: one, Ibrāhīm Khān, d. end of Šafar or early in Rabī' I., 1122 H. (1710), *id.*, I, 295. This man's son, Zabardast Khān, died in 1125 H. (1713). Asad 'Alī Khān, Jaulāq, had been employed by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the Dakhīn, having been put in charge of Šubāh Barār after the defeat of Dāūd Khān, Pannī, *M-ul-u* I, 354.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 836, 837. *Sincānīh-i-Khizri*.

<sup>4</sup> Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmāh*, 69b.



Shortly afterwards Mirzā Asgharī, brother's son of Nekūsiyar,<sup>1</sup> tried to make his escape from the fort (22nd Ramazān 1131 H., 7th August, 1719), with the hope of reaching Rājah Jai Singh at Amber, or Chabelah Rām at Allahābād. He intended to come out on the side facing the river, but Manohar, Jāt, one of the garrison, sent notice to Curāman, Jāt, who commanded in that direction. From sunset Curāman took up his station near the river at the head of two hundred men. When Mirzā Asgharī, followed by twelve servants, made his appearance, he was forthwith seized and detained till the morning. At day-break he was taken before Husain 'Alī Khān, who ordered him to be kept a prisoner in the custody of Muta'mad Khān. The money which he had brought out to bribe Curāman, was made over to that chief, together with an elephant.<sup>2</sup>

A plan was now devised to overcome Šafi Khān's reluctance to give in, and to induce him to abandon the struggle. A letter purporting to be from his brother, Islām Khān, then a prisoner at Dihli, was prepared, and on it Qutb-ul-mulk impressed the seal of Islām Khān. It urged Šafi Khān to resist no longer, but make over the fort and the pretender to Ghairat Khān. Šafi Khān sent this letter on to Ghairat Khān, expressing his willingness to surrender, if he were promised a pardon. Ghairat Khān hurried off to Husain 'Alī Khān and obtained from him a written promise of pardon, attested by his seal and signature. Thereupon Šafi Khān came out of the fort and delivered up letters which he had received from many of the great nobles, instigating him to bring forward Nekūsiyar as a claimant for the throne. Among the rest was one bearing the private seal of Husain 'Alī Khān himself. He was struck with amazement. On enquiring, he found that Mitr Sen at the time when he had access to the Nawāb's *darbār*, had prepared it and sent it to Šafi Khān.<sup>3</sup>

#### SECTION 5.—SURRENDER OF ĀGRAH FORT AND OF NEKŪSIYAR.

At length on the 27th Ramazān 1131 H.\* (12th August, 1719) the garrison surrendered. Ghairat Khān was sent in with a force to take possession, while Rājah Muḥkam Singh and Samandar Khān brought

<sup>1</sup> Kām Rāj, *‘Ibratnāmāh*, 69b, says it was the other son of Buland Akhtar, viz., Faṭḥ-ul-mubīn, who tried to escape.

<sup>2</sup> *Siwānīh-i-Khizri*, Khāfī Khān II, 836, Kāmwar Khān, 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Siwānīh-i-Khizri* of Khizir Khān, Pannī.

\* It is the 29th Ramazān in Muḥammad Qāsim, 289, and so also in the *Tabqirat-un-nāgiri*, year 1131 H., p. 129, where is to be found 'Abd-ul-jalīl's *qaṣīdah* in honour of the occasion. The poet was present on the spot.



out Nekūsiyar and his other nephew, Bābā Mughal.<sup>1</sup> At the gate of the fort the two princes were placed on elephants and escorted to the camp. A great crowd had assembled to see them, through which they passed with hanging heads, looking neither to [the right nor to the left. As they dismounted, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān advanced to greet them and conducted them to the tent already allotted to Mirzā Asgharī. There they were made to sit on one carpet of honour (*masnad*), while the Bakhshī stood before them humbly, with folded hands. But Nekūsiyar, whose life had been passed in the harem, rose at once, and in the dialect used by women began to beg and pray for his life, accompanying his words by prostrations utterly opposed to usage. Anxious to maintain the usual decorum, the nawab took his hand, and remonstrating, said, "Let your mind be at rest, and count this place as your own. Until this time you were in the hands of infidels." Nekūsiyar uttered bitter complaints against those who had made use of him for their own purposes; and asked that some eunuch might be sent at once to allay the terror of his mother and the other women, by informing them of the kind reception he and his nephews had received. They were then furnished with carpets, pillows and other necessities.<sup>2</sup>

Before the imperial soldiers could seize him, Mitr Sen had made an end of himself by plunging a dagger into his own breast. While still a little breath was left in the body, the soldiers, to prove their zeal, lifted it up and carried it into the presence of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. He ordered them to sever the head from the body and send it to Qutb-ul-mulk. For three days the drums were beaten in honour of the victory, and in the end Nekūsiyar was sent to Dihli to be placed with the other captive princes in Salimgarh: he died there on the 6th Rajab 1135 H. (11th March, 1723) and was buried at the Qutb.<sup>3</sup>

The next pressing work was to obtain possession of the hoards of treasure and other property. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in person proceeded to the fort, where he placed Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in general charge, and Ghairat Khān was told off to search for treasure. Trusty men were placed as sentries at the gates and no one, whether belonging to the army or not, was allowed to pass without being strictly searched. Ancient treasurers and guards of 'Ālamgir's time, who had long left the service, were summoned from their homes. By much urging and the offer

<sup>1</sup> Bābā Mughal is, I suppose, the same as the prince called Fath-ul-mubin by Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmāh*, fol. 69b.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 208, Shīu [Dās 30b, Khāfi Khān, II, 836, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 289.

<sup>3</sup> *Burhān-uṣ-ṣafā*, 167b, Kāmwar Khān, 208, Khāfi Khān, II, 837, *Tārīkh-i-Mahdī*, year 1135, *Sicaniḥ-i-Khizri*, p. 3.



of rewards they were induced to point out the underground store-houses. In one place thirty-five *lakhs* of *tankah* minted in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1516) were recovered; and in another seventy-eight *lakhs* of Shāhjahān's silver coinage, with ten thousand gold coins of Akbar's reign. The papers of account were also recovered. These showed that the money had been placed by 'Ālamgir in the custody of Shāistah Khān, Amīr-ul-umarā; but upon that emperor's death in the Dakhin, no further notice had been taken of these hoards. They were not discovered in Bahādur Shāh's or Jahāndār Shāh's time. In the wardrobe was a shawl studded with jewels which had belonged to Nūr Jahān Begam, a sword used by the Emperor Jahāngir, and the sheet sprinkled with pearls which Shāhjahān caused to be prepared for the tomb of Mumtāz Maḥal. One valuation puts the property at 1,80,00,000 rupees (£1,800,000), 1,40,00,000 rupees in cash and the rest in goods. Khāfi Khān puts it still higher, namely, at two to three *krors* of rupees (£2,000,000 to £3,000,000).<sup>1</sup>

#### SECTION 6.—THE EMPEROR AND QUTB-UL-MULK START FROM DĪHLĪ FOR ĀGRAH.

When news was received at Dihli that Jai Singh had so far declared himself as to move out from Amber in the direction of Biānah and Āgrah, 'Abdullah Khān decided upon taking the field with the emperor in person. Accordingly the advance tents were sent out to Masjid-i-Moth, a distance of three kos, on the 26th Sha'bān 1131 H. (13th July, 1719). Sayyad Khān Jahan<sup>2</sup> was left in charge of the city and the palace. On the 28th the emperor visited the Qutb and next day he marched to Khizrābād. After three more marches they reached Sikri on the 8th Ramazān (24th July, 1719), and the rain being very heavy, a halt was made for two or three days. On the 19th Ramazān (4th August, 1719) they were between Karahkah and Korī; and here Rājah Ajit Singh received permission to proceed to Mathurā to bathe in the Ganges. At the stage of Kosī, about thirty miles north-west of Mathurā, it was decided, from reasons of prudence, not to march straight towards Amber, but to keep more to the left and make for Fathpur Sikri. One camp was at Karāoli, eight kos from Āgrah; thence the *wasīr* and his brother moved to Fathpur, eight or nine miles farther to the west.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 292, Shiū Dās, 306, Khāfi Khān, II, 837, *Sucnīh-i-Khizri*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Khān Jahan died on the 12th Shawwāl 1132 H. (16th August, 1720).

<sup>3</sup> Mhd. Qāsim, 282, 283, Kāmwar Khān, 209, Khāfi Khān, II, 833, Kam Rāj, *Ibratnāmah*, 70a. Masjid-i-Moth, see ante, chapt. 4, Farrukhsiyar's reign. It



SECTION 7.—FARRUKHSIYAR'S WIDOW IS MADE OVER TO HER FATHER, AJIT SINGH.

At the time of setting out from Dihli, Ajit Singh had been appointed to command the vanguard. Thereupon he commenced to make excuses, on the ground that if he left his daughter, Farrukhsīyar's widow, behind him, she would either poison herself or her name and fame would be assailed. Yielding to these pleas, 'Abdullah Khān made the lady over to her father. She performed a ceremony of purification in the Hindū fashion, and gave up her Mahomedan attire. Then, with all her property, estimated to exceed 1,00,00,000 rupees (£1,000,000) in value, she was sent off to her native country of Jodhpur. Great indignation was felt by the Mahomedans, especially by the more bigoted class of those learned in the law. The *qāzī* issued a ruling that the giving back of a convert was entirely opposed to Mahomedan law. But, in spite of this opposition, 'Abdullah Khān insisted on conciliating Ajit Singh, although on no previous occasion had a Rājput princess been restored to her own people after she had once entered the imperial harem.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 8.—THE EMPEROR AND 'ABDULLAH KHĀN MARCH TOWARDS ĀGRAH.

When Husain 'Ali Khān learnt that his brother had left the capital, a movement undertaken without his previous knowledge, he wrote an urgent remonstrance. He begged that no advance might be made into Rājah Jai Singh's country, for he had already taken all the precautions that were necessary. His *bakhshī*, Sayyad Dilāwar 'Ali Khān, with Mir Mushrif and Zafar Khān, Turrah-i-bāz, had been sent early in the rains to reduce a fort called Fathpur, held by Khāmā, Jāt. This force had now been directed to block the way to Rājah Jai Singh, and nothing more was required in that direction. 'Abdullah Khān might either encamp where he was, or come on to Āgrah.<sup>2</sup>

On the 27th Ramazān (12th August, 1719) a messenger brought word to 'Abdullah Khān that his brother had just obtained possession of Āgrah fort, and was then busied in appropriating its contents to his

lies about 5½ miles south of the Dihli gate of the city, and on the road to the Qutb. *Khizrābād* lies east of Moth ki Masjid and nearer the Jamnah, see *ante*. For Kosi see Indian Atlas, sheet No. 49, and Thornton, 523; it is 29 m. N.W. of Mathurā, lat. 27° 48', long. 77° 29'. Kori and Karahkat<sup>1</sup> I cannot trace on the Indian Atlas. Lurāoli is on sheet No. 50, about 15 m. west of Āgrah.

<sup>1</sup> *Sikāni-i-Khizrī*, Khāfi Khān, II, 833.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 283.



own use. Although the victory was a cause of rejoicing, the thought of exclusion from his share of the booty depressed the *wazir's* mind. An immediate advance was resolved upon. On the 29th Ramazān (14th August, 1719) the camp was at Sarsi, and on the 11th Shawwāl (26th August, 1719) at Ol, where Ajit Singh rejoined from Mathurā. On the 17th of that month they reached the village of Bidyāpur, not far from Fathpur Sikri.<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th Shawwāl (4th September, 1719) a report was received that Husain 'Alī Khān was near Kurāoli on his way from Āgrah with Nekūsiyar and the other captives. Next day he arrived, and one day after his arrival he was presented in audience. The quarrel which had broken out between the brothers over the booty taken at Āgrah, was here made up through the exertions of Rājah Ratn Cand. 'Abdullah Khān received twenty-one, or, as some say,<sup>2</sup> twenty-eight lakhs of rupees, a sum which was supposed to represent his half-share, after all the expenses of the campaign had been deducted. The sword of Jahāngir and the shawl of Nūr Jahān were retained by the Emperor, but the rest of the booty was granted to the two brothers.<sup>3</sup>

#### SECTION 9.—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF RAFI'UD-DAULAH.

Rafi'-ud-daulah turned out to be as sickly and weakly as his brother and predecessor, being like him given to excess in the use of opium. On ascending the throne he gave up the habit, but the sudden abstinence produced diarrhœa. About the time that he started from Dihli he fell seriously ill. Accusations of poison are freely made by some writers, notably by Kāmwar Khān: but this man's views on the subject can be readily accounted for. He had risen in the service of Rafi'-ush-shān, the father of this and the previous emperor, and naturally he expected much personal benefit from their coming to the throne. In this he was entirely disappointed. From fear of the Sayyads, the two princes had discouraged the applications of their own dependants, such as Kāmwar Khān, and by reason of their shortlived tenure of the throne such hopes of preferment were dashed to the

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 208. Sarsi I cannot trace; Ol is on the Indian Atlas, sheet 60, as Ou, about 27 m. N.W. of Āgrah and about 15 m. S.W. of Mathurā. Bidyāpur is not traceable on the Indian Atlas map; it was the birth-place of Khizr Khān, Pannī, the hero of the *Siwānīh-i-Khizrī* so often quoted. Through the kindness of Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, C.S., Commissioner of Āgrah, I learn that it is opposite mile-stone No. 17 on the metalled road from Āgrah to Fathpur Sikri. For Kurāoli see ante; it is about 15 miles W. of Āgrah.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tārīkh-i-mugaffarī* has 30 lakhs of rupees.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 837, *Siwānīh-i-Khizrī*, p. 4.



ground. Instigated by his sorrow for their early death and by regret at his own vanished prospects, is it to be wondered at that he lost his judgment, and too readily believed that his young masters had been made away with? He was ready to accept any assertion, however improbable it might be, about the two Sayyads. The only overt act he can adduce is the substitution of the physician, 'Ulwī Khān, for Mahdī-Qulī Khān, as head of the royal kitchen. Then in a later entry, 20th Shawwāl (4th September), he insists that the attack of diarrhoea from which the young emperor suffered, was due to the Sayyads' "cunning devices." Finally, on the 28th Shawwāl (12th September), when Masiḥ-uz-zamān, 'Abdullah Khān, and other physicians were called to the emperor's bedside, Kāmwar Khān can only say that "they took counsel for his departure." These vague accusations cannot for a moment be entertained. To refute them it is enough to remember how much the Sayyads were interested in keeping the prince alive, if they could. They could in no way benefit by such gratuitous iniquity as the poisoning of an inoffensive prince, with whom they had no quarrel, and from whom they could anticipate no injury. The truth is that Rafī'-ud-daulah was not only of a weak constitution, but was addicted to opium. This fact sufficiently accounts for his succumbing under an attack of the kind from which he was suffering, as that disease when once set up in an opium-eater is almost incurable. His death occurred in camp at Bidyāpur on the 4th or 5th Zū'l Qa'dah 1131 H. (17th or 18th September, 1719)<sup>1</sup> but the fact was concealed until the arrival from Dihli of some other prince to be his successor. A week or more before his death the Sayyads' nephew, Ghulām 'Alī Khān, and other nobles had been despatched in all haste to Dihli for that purpose.<sup>2</sup>

According to one author, various stories more or less absurd were in circulation about the early death of these two emperors. Some said that the Sayyads, having found the two youths devoid of learning, deficient in knowledge of men,<sup>3</sup> and wanting in valour, became convinced that they were useless as sovereigns, and had therefore removed them by poison. Again, others hinted that by reading the stars it was found that these princes were doomed to misfortune, and the Sayyads

<sup>1</sup> Khūshbāl Cand, Berlin Ms. 495, fol. 996a, says it was the 7th, and quotes the verse :—

*Haftam zi Qā'dah az in kuhnah-dair*  
*Kard sūe bāgh-i-khāpān 'azam-i-sair.*

"On the 7th of Zi Qa'dah from this old tavern

"For the silent grove he resolved to set out."

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-muzaffarī*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Qiyāfat-shināsī*, literally, "physiognomy."



were impelled to their removal by the fear of being themselves involved. Or, as some suggested, the Sayyads had resolved on killing out by degrees the whole of Taimūr's race. When the way was open, they meant to claim the throne for themselves, Qutb-ul-mulk taking Hindūstān, and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the Dakhin and Mālwah. The author in question sums up in favour of the third supposition, and blames the Sayyads for forgetting that :—

"He who chooses to leave the beaten path  
"Will never reach his journey's end."<sup>1</sup>

#### APPENDIX (RAFĪ'UD-DĀULAH).

*Length of reign.*—Rafī'ud-daulah reigned four months and sixteen days. As the month or year of his birth is nowhere stated in any first-class authority, we do not know his exact age. If he was eighteen months older than his brother, Rafī'ud-darajāt, he must have been between twenty and twenty-one years old at the time of death.<sup>2</sup>

*Title.*—On his accession he received the title of Shāhjahān Sānī (the second), but his full style is nowhere given.

*Coin.*—There are nineteen of this emperor's coins in the three public collections before referred to; three of gold and sixteen of silver, all circular. Except one, all are dated, bearing the year 1131 H. These nineteen coins come from ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces: coins from Kābul, Kashmīr, Multān, Ajmer, Audh, Allāhābād, Mālwah, Orissah, and five out of the six Dakhin *shubahs* are absent. The mints from which there are coins are Lāhor (2), Tatṭhah (1), Shāhjahānābād (6), Bareli (2), Sūrat (1), Akbarābād (2), Islāmābād (1), Patnah (1), Murshidābād (2), Aurangābād (1). Tatṭhah, strange to say, re-appears in the list of active mints after some interval. For the gold coins the weights are 167, 168·5, and 169 grains respectively, and the diameters ·8, ·85, and ·9 of an inch. For the silver coins the weights are 172 grains (1), 173 (2), 174 (1), 174·5 (2), 175 (3), 176 (1), 177 (3), 178 (1), 179·3 (1), 180 (1); and the diameters, ·80 of an inch (2), ·81 (1), ·85 (1), ·86 (1), ·88 (1), ·90 (3), ·95 (5), 1·0 (1), 1·03 (1). The inscription as given by Rodgers, "Lahore Catalogue," 207, is *Sikkah-i-mubārīk-i-Bādshāh-i-ghāzī Shāh Jahān*. I

<sup>1</sup> *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, fol. 172a.

*Khilāf-i-mamarr kase rah guzīd*

*Kih hargiz ba manzil na khwāshad rasīd.*

<sup>2</sup> The *Jām-i-Jam*, a non-contemporary work, makes him a younger brother, and gives his birthday as the 5th Šafar 1113 H. (11th July, 1701).



reject his seventh coin from Māhā Indarpur (*i.e.*, Bhartpur, see *id.* p. 264), as I believe it belongs to the other *Shāhjahān* of 1174 H. (also commonly called "*Ṣānī*," or the second). In 1131 H. Bhartpur had not become the chief place of the Jāts, nor was it then more than an obscure village, whereas in 1174 H. it was the capital of one of the chief partizans of the minister, 'Imād-ul-mulk, who in 1173 H. (December, 1759) had placed this third *Shāhjahān* upon the throne after the assassination of 'Ālamgīr II.

*Family.*—We do not know if Rafī'-ud-daulah was married, or if he was, who his wife was; nor do we hear of his having left any children. On the 13th Zū'l Qa'dah (21st September, 1719) his bier was sent to Dihli, and he was buried beside his brother near the shrine of Qaṭb-ud-dīn.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MUHAMMAD SHĀH (1719-1748).

During the few days which elapsed between the death of Rafī'-ud-daulah and the arrival of his successor, the *Wazīr* and his brother made their usual daily visit to the imperial quarters and returned with robes of honour, as if newly conferred on them, thus deceiving the common people into the belief that the emperor was still alive.<sup>1</sup>

At length on the 11th Zū'l Qa'dah 1131 H. (24th September, 1719), Ghulām 'Alī Khān arrived in the camp at Bidyāpur, a village three kos to the north of Fathpur Sikrī. He brought with him Prince Roshan Akhtar, the son of the late Khujistah Akhtar, Jahān Shāh, fourth son of the Emperor Bahādar Shāh.<sup>2</sup> The death of Rafī'-ud-daulah was now (26th September, 1719) made public, his bier brought out, and his body despatched for burial to Dihli. Arrangements were at once made for the enthronement of his successor.<sup>3</sup>

This enthronement took place at Bidyāpur<sup>4</sup> on the 15th Zū'l Qa'dah 1131 H. (28th September, 1719) and Roshan Akhtar was proclaimed under

<sup>1</sup> Shiū Dās, 32b. A newly-conferred *khilā'at* was worn for twenty-four hours, and nothing was allowed to be put on over it.

<sup>2</sup> Rustam 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i-hindī*, fol. 237a, says the prince was brought from Dihli in three days, travelling in a boat down the Jamnah.

<sup>3</sup> Kamwar Khān, 211; Khāfi Khān, II, 840.

<sup>4</sup> From the tahsildar's report kindly obtained for me by Mr. Reynolds, as already stated, I find that there is a place Tājpur four miles west of Bidyāpur. From the name, and the fact that the village is a perpetual *mu'āfi*, I infer that Tājpur may be the actual place of enthronement.



the titles of Abu'l Fath,<sup>1</sup> Nāṣir-ud-dīn, Muḥammad Shāh, Bādshāh, Ghāzi. He was a handsome and, at that time, fairly intelligent young man, and having been born at Ghaznī on the 23rd Rabi' I 1114 H.<sup>2</sup> (16th August, 1702), was now in his eighteenth (lunar) year. Coin was issued and the *Khutbah* read in his name; and it was directed that the commencement of the reign should be antedated, and fixed from the removal of Farrukhsiyar from the throne. All other arrangements were continued as in the last two reigns, and no new appointments were made. All the persons surrounding the sovereign were as before the nominees of the two Sayyads, and Himmat Khān continued as before to act as tutor and guardian. Muḥammad Shāh deferred to him in everything, and asked of him permission to attend the public prayers on Friday or to go out shooting. On the march men in the confidence of the Sayyads surrounded the young emperor and prevented any access to him.<sup>3</sup>

#### SECTION 2.—TERMS MADE WITH JAI SINGH.

It was now given out that the emperor, after worshipping at the tomb of *Shekh Salīm*, Cishtī, in Fathpur, would march on to Ajmer and visit the shrine of Mu'in-ud-dīn Cishtī. The hidden motive was to overawe Rājah Jai Singh who, since the removal of Farrukhsiyar, had been at little pains to conceal his hostile intentions. He had received some aid in money from the Rānā of Udepur, as is shown by his letter to that prince's minister, dated the 4th Bhādoṇ Sambat 1776 (9th August, 1719), wherein he asserts that Nizām-ul-mulk had started from Ujjain and Chabelah Rām had crossed the Jamnah at Kālpī, both of which statements were false.<sup>4</sup> When he learnt of the rising at Āgrah, he came out from his capital, Amber, with much ostentation. Following the Rajput custom when resolved on death or victory, he and his men had clothed themselves in saffron raiment and sprinkled their

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, 166. But Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Muqaddamah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nāmah*, 45a, states that on the 3rd Jāmādī II, 1134 H. (20th March, 1722), the style was changed from "Abu'l Fath" to "Abu'l Muzaffar."

<sup>2</sup> The *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī* has the 22nd Rabi' I, and *Khushhāl Cand*, Berlin Ms. 495, fol. 995a, the 24th. The latter writer gives a chronogram of six lines, of which the last is:

"*Khudao-i-gaihan-parwar*" (1114) *khudāe kard ijād.*

<sup>3</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 213; *Khushhāl Cand*, Berlin Ms. No. 495, fol. 995a has, for date, "middle of Zū'l Qa'dah."

<sup>4</sup> He was further encouraged in his hostility by Tahavvar Khān, Turānī, Šalābat Khān, the late *Mir Ātash*, Rūhullāh Khān, and the other refugees from Dihli already referred to.



heads with green grass.<sup>1</sup> He announced publicly that he had bestowed the city of Amber on the Brahmans as a sacred gift (*dān* and *arthān*). He had marched as far as parganah Todah Tānk, about eighty miles south-west of Āgrah, and there waited to see which way events would turn. He was watched by a force under Sayyad Dilāwar 'Ali Khān, which barred his further advance northwards.<sup>2</sup>

Mahārājah Ajit Singh had offered himself as mediator, but his leisurely procedure, protracted in the way usual to him and his fellow-rājahs, did not accord with the fiery temperament of Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. It was with a view to bring this matter to a head that an advance from Fathpur Sikri towards Ajmer was proposed. A few marches were made to places in the neighbourhood, but no real start was attempted. The camp was between Malikpur and Muminābad on the 24th Zūl-Qa'dah (7th October, 1719) and here Ḥusain 'Ali Khān came in from Fathpur to pay his respects. Another stage was travelled on the 26th (9th October).<sup>3</sup>

On the 1st Zūl-Hijjah (14th October, 1719) the emperor's mother, now styled Nawāb Qadsiyah, and other women of the harem, who had been sent for from Dihli arrived in camp. The Begam had acted most warily, avoiding everything that could arouse the suspicions of the Sayyads. When the messengers of the Sayyads came to Dihli to fetch her son, she bestowed on them, on the men who were to accompany him, and on all office-holders at Dihli, the customary dresses of honour. But learning that this assumption of authority had displeased the Sayyads, she sent away all subsequent applicants. In the same manner, when she arrived in camp, she warned all persons who had any connection with her late husband, Jahān Shāh, to abstain from appearing on the road to greet or escort her. She studied the susceptibilities of the Sayyads in every particular. A sum of fifteen thousand rupees monthly was set apart for her expenses and those of the other women.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I read *gyāhe*, "grass," in Muḥammad Qāsim, but Tod, I, 506, speaks of their wearing on such occasions the *maur* or bridal crown, which is probably much the same thing in other words—John Christian, "Behar Proverbs," p. 197, No. 426, tells us that the bridegroom's head-dress "is made of talipot leaves and in some places of date (palm) leaves." That it is sometimes actually made of grass may be inferred from W. Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of the N.-W. Provinces," Vol. II, p. 62, sixth line from foot.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhori, 282, 297, Tod, "Annals," I, 380.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhori, 294. There is a Malikpur about five miles east of Fathpur, Indian Atlas, Sheet 50; Muminābad, I am unable to trace.

<sup>4</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 214, Khāfi Khān, II, 841.



As the negotiations with Jai Singh were still in progress and no satisfactory terms could be arranged, Ajit Singh, who was extremely anxious to return home, offered to visit Jai Singh in person on his way to Jodhpur. Accordingly he was dismissed to his home, and on the 2nd Zū,1 Hījjah (15th October, 1719) the report came in that three days before (12th October), Jai Singh had quitted Todah on his return to Amber. The fugitive nobles, Tahavvar Khān, Ṣalābat Khān, and Rūḥullah Khān, were at his request pardoned and left with him unmolested. The great persuasive in his withdrawal was the large sum of money that he received. Some say the amount was as much as twenty lakhs of rupees. This money was paid to him on the plea that it was required to buy back Amber from the Brahmans. To the public it was announced as a gift on his marriage with the daughter of Ajit Singh, to whom he had long been betrothed. As part of these negotiations Rajah Jai Singh obtained the government of *Sarkār Sorath* (*Ṣubāh Aḥmadābād*). But the rest of Aḥmadābād remained under Ajit Singh, with the addition of the whole of Ajmer. That rājah's formal appointment to the latter *ṣubāh* was announced on the 23rd Zū,1 Hījjah (5th November, 1719.) In this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Dīhli to the shores of the ocean at Sūrat was in the hands of these two rājahs, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed frontier.<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION 3.—THE EMPEROR MOVES FROM FATHPUR TO ĀGRAH.

From the date of his arrival in camp, 11th Zū,1 Qa'dah (24th September, 1719) until the 20th Zū,1 Hījjah, Muḥammad Shāh had never moved far from Fathpur Sikrī. He kept the 'Id festival (10th Zū,1 Hījjah) in his tents at Fathpur, and visited the tomb of Shāh Salim, Cishti, at that place on the 14th of the same month. On the 20th he started for Āgrah, and three days later (5th November, 1719) he camped at Tālāb Kelā Nāth. On the 15th Muḥarram 1132 H. (27th November, 1719) quarters were taken up for a few days at the palace within the fort of Āgrah, but on the 2nd Ṣafar (14th December, 1719) the emperor returned to his tents at his former encampment. At this time Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, *bakhshī* of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's army, was sent towards Jālesar and Sa'dābād in the *Dūābah* to punish the Jāts, who had lately carried off over one hundred of the imperial camels.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 214, 216, Khāfi Khān, II, 838, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 297, Shih Dāe, 32a.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmwar Khān, 215, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 2nd recension, 402.



## SECTION 4.—CAMPAIGN AGAINST BONDĪ.

As already mentioned,<sup>1</sup> there had been for several years a dispute between Budh Singh, Hādā, and his relation Bhīm Singh, about the country of Bondi in Rājputānah. Budh Singh who was in possession, had thrown in his lot with Farrukhsīyar and Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe. Bhīm Singh had sided with the minister and his brother. As a reward his restoration was now decided upon, Budh Singh having recently added to his former iniquities by himself assisting Girdhar Bahādur, the rebellious governor of Allahābād, and instigating Chatarsāl, Bundelāh, to do the same. On the 5th Muharram 1132 H. (17th November, 1719) Bhīm Singh was sent on this enterprise and Dost Muḥammad Khān, Afghān,<sup>2</sup> of Mālwah was, at the rajah's request, given a high *manṣab* and placed under his orders. Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, *bakhshī* of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's army, who had lately returned from his expedition against the Jāts, received orders to proceed to Bondī with a well-equipped force of fifteen thousand horsemen. Gaj Singh of Narwar was also ordered to join. In addition to the avowed object of their march, they carried with them secret instructions to remain on the borders of Mālwah until it was known whether their services might not be required in that direction. Bhīm Singh had been promised the title of Mahārajah and the rank 7,000, 7,000 horse, with the fish standard, if he took part in a successful campaign against Nizām-ul-mulk in Mālwah.<sup>3</sup>

On the 3rd Rabi' II, 1132 H. (12th February, 1720) the report was received that Rāo Bhīm Singh and Dilāwar 'Alī Khān had fought a battle with the uncle of Rāo Budh Singh, in which their opponent was defeated and slain, along with five or six thousand of his clan.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the reign of Bahādur Shāh, 1707–1712, not yet printed.

<sup>2</sup> Founder of the Bhopāl State. At this time he was on bad terms with Nizām-ul-mulk, then *subahdār* of Mālwah.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 844; Kāmwar Khān, 216; Khizr Khān, 41.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, 851; Kāmwar Khān, 218.



## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF HADĀ RAJAHS OF KOTAH AND BONDI.

(Note A. to Section 4, Chapter VII.)

**AUTHORITIES.**—Tod, II, 507, the *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi*, the *Maʿāzīr-ul-umaraʾ*, II, 323 (Rām Singh), II, 113 (Surjan, Hādā), II, 141 (Rāo Bhoj), II, 208 (Rāo Ratn), II, 260 (Rāo Sattarsāl), II, 305 (Rāo Bhāo Singh), III, 453 (Mādhū Singh), III, 503 (Mukand Singh), *Tārīkh-i-tahjāh-i-Rājastān*, by MbdʿUbdallāh (1889).

Surjan, Hādā.

Fourth in descent from Rāo Dewā,  
founder of Bondi in 1341 A.D.

Rāo Bhoj,  
[BONDI]

D. 1016 H., 1607-8.

Received Bondi from Akbar  
in the 22nd year (1578?).

Rāo Ratn

D. 1630-1 at Bālaghāt in the Dakhīn.

Gopinath,  
Predeceased his father.

Rāo Sattarsāl,  
[BONDI]  
Killed 1068 H. (1658)  
at Samāgarh.

Eleven  
other  
sons.

Rāo Bhāo Singh,  
D. s. p. 1088 H.  
(1677-8). Tod says  
1681.

Bhagwant Singh,

Kishn Singh,  
committed suicide  
1098 H. (1677-8).

II. Mukand Singh,  
[KOTAH]  
Killed S. 1715, 1658 A.D.  
25th April.

Mohan Singh,  
[POLAITA]  
Killed S. 1715,  
1658 A.D.  
25th April.

Jujār Singh  
[first of KOTRA  
then of RAMGARH  
RELAWEN]  
Killed S. 1715,  
1658 A.D.  
25th April.

Kuñi Rām  
[KOELAH,  
DIH, and  
GOORAH]  
Killed S. 1715,  
1658 A.D.  
25th April.

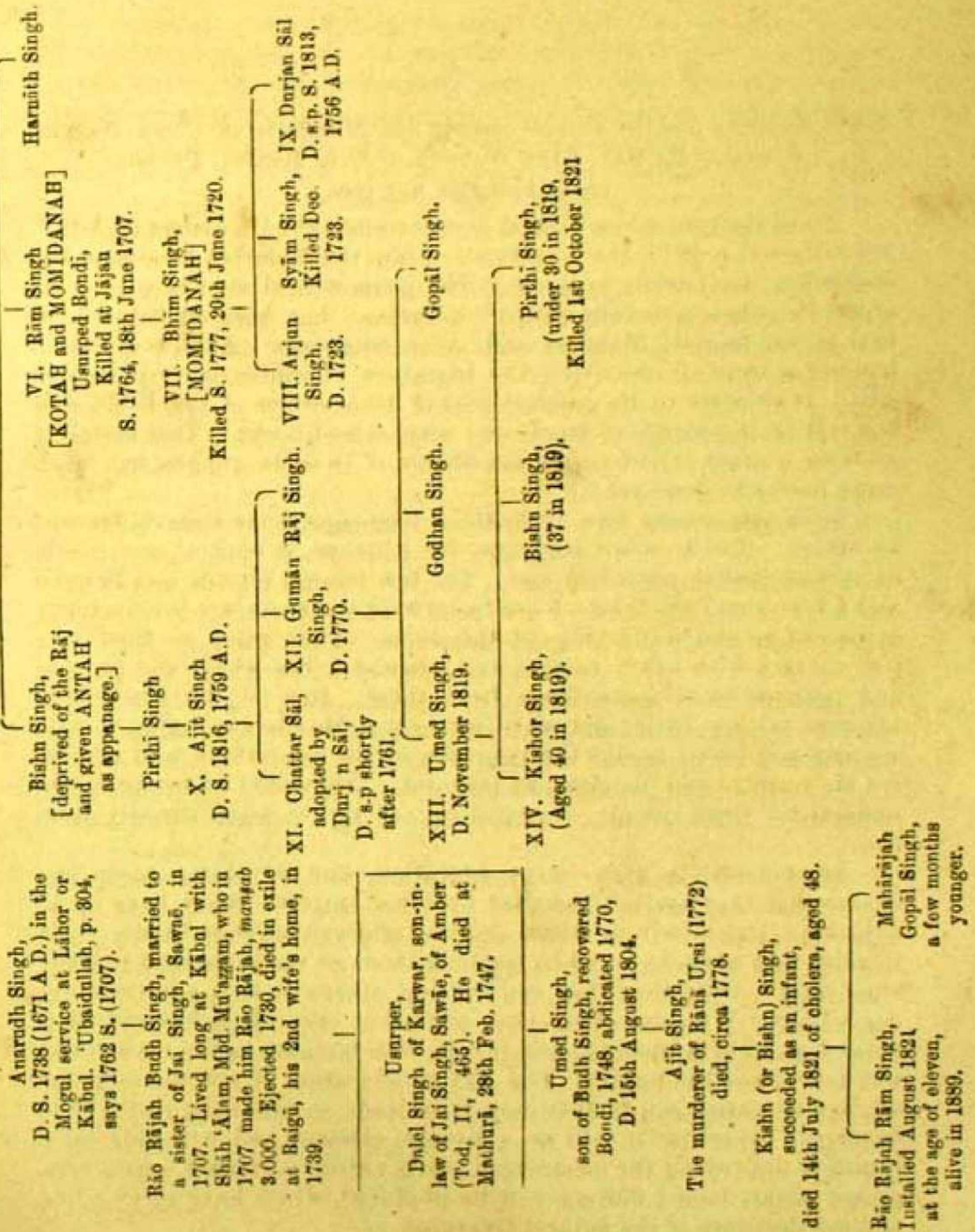
V. Kishor (or Krishn)  
Singh  
[SANGOD]  
Killed at Arkāt  
S. 1745, 1688 A.D.

IV. Pem Singh,  
deposed after six  
months (1692).

I. Mādhū Singh  
[KOTAH]  
D. 1648.









*Some Kolarian riddles current among the Mundaris in Chota Nagpur, Bengal.—By REV. PAUL WAGNER, G.E.L. Mission, Purulia.*

[Read November 2nd, 1904.]

Since the time when Tickell first described the Ho dialect (J.A.S.B. 1840, Part II p. 997), the investigation into the Kolarian languages has made slow, but steady progress. The grammatical structure of some of the languages generally called "Kolarian" has been elaborated, as that of the Santali, Mundari and Asur languages. As the Kolarian languages were all unwritten the literature of course is very limited still. It consists in its greatest part of translations of the Bible, and the rest of it consists of tracts and some school-books. That certainly adds to a great extent to the knowledge of those languages, but much more has to be done yet.

It is astonishing how little these languages have been influenced by others. The Mundari language, for instance, is spoken now nearly as it was spoken centuries ago. The few foreign (Hindi and Bengali and a few other) words which are found here and there, are satisfactorily explained by the wanderings of this tribe. They came on their way into contact with other nations and adopted a few words and phrases and perhaps even some ideas from them. But on the whole that increase is very little, and when we hear a Mundari speaking to-day, we may be sure he speaks the language of his forefathers, and expresses his feelings and his ideas, as they did. One would certainly fail to understand these people, if one does not try to learn directly from them.

Most certainly they want education, and education alone can ensure that they are not absorbed by other natives. They have up to date kept separate from others and that shows that they have a right to exist, and so we have, when teaching them, at the same time to learn from them. Only thus they can develop, otherwise they will certainly degenerate. Who can deny that education very often has proved a curse instead of a blessing, and just in such measure as the teacher did not understand the pupil? The way of education is not the same for all, and education can further only if it leads to organic growth, if it develops: otherwise it will be a strange element and will only be a means of destroying the good which really exists; instead of a naturally grown plant, forced flowers will be produced, which have no long life and are destitute of the natural fragrance.



It is worth while to gather unwritten material; to bring such a contribution is the intention of the following pages.

On investigation I found amongst the Mundari-speaking people a great predilection for puzzling questions of their own. Most of them sound so strange that they can scarcely be understood without explanation. Some may have been accepted from other tribes, but those which seemed to me to be doubtful in their origin, have been excluded.

I give here a collection of 100, a number which could easily be doubled.

The horizon is very limited: the house, the field, the daily work, animals, plants, trees, the weather and the sky, that is nearly all they speak about; yet interesting, though sometimes very strange, are the comparisons they use.

1. *Question.*—Honkō parpīr, engā  
teṭeyā ?  
*Answer.*—Jō ; jḍaru.  
The children fly away, the mother  
remains ?  
The fruit ; the tree.
2. *Q.*—Engāte dō lapuā, honte  
dō dagumā ?  
*A.*—Bengrā.  
The mother (is) weak, the child  
strong ?  
A bulbiferous plant ; the wither-  
ing herb being the weak  
mother, the bulk the strong  
child.
3. *Q.*—Merom dōē burumā (tōla-  
kangiā), joṛā dōē atingā ?  
*A.*—Kakru.  
The lamb is lying down (has been  
tied), the string (scil. by which  
it has been tied), is ascending ?  
The cucumber.
4. *Q.*—Dubmē diṛṛā, disuming  
honortingtana ?  
*A.*—Kakru.  
Sit down, fat fellow, I go fur-  
ther to the country ?  
The cucumber (it is spoken to  
by the creeper.)
5. *Q.*—Sirmarē goṭkōā, otere  
udarkōā ?  
*A.*—Madukam.  
Above (*lit.* in heaven) flocks,  
beneath (*lit.* on earth) they ga-  
ther them (as they gather the  
cows and sheep at noon and  
at sunset, to drive them home,  
in flocks) ?  
The flower of the Mahua tree.
6. *Q.*—Mayom dō sibilā, jilu dō  
baṛadā ?  
*A.*—Madukam.  
The blood is sweet, the flesh  
bitter ?  
The flower of the Mahua tree.



7. Q.—Apu hon miyad nutum,  
themkā korā eṭa nutum ?

A.—Madukam ; ḍolā.

8. Q.—Soben jāti hereyanā,  
miyad jāti kā hereyana ?

A.—Ḍolā.

9. Q.—Honkō do risāte risā,  
engā kō do silabolētanā ?

A.—Jarā daru ; jarā jō'.

The question is also put thus :  
Engā sehel beheltan, hon  
dō risā ?

10. Q.—Risā simā jilu rebed-  
gia ?

A.—Mungā arā.

11. Q.—Riti piti sakamteā kaṛad  
lekā jō'teā ?

The blood is the juice, used in  
liquor-making.

Father and son (have) one name,  
the grandson (has) another  
name ?

The Madukam tree and the flower  
(both have the same name :  
Madukam or Mahua (H)) ; the  
grandson is the fruit which is  
called ḍolā.

All sorts (of fruits) have peels,  
one has no peels ?

The fruit of the Mahua tree.  
The whole fruit is used in mak-  
ing bread.

The children have dishevelled hair,  
the mothers are smooth ?

The jara tree and its thorn-covered  
fruit (used for dying purposes)  
The jara is growing very rapidly.  
The trunk has very short  
branches and the thorny fruits  
are hidden in the crown of the  
tree. The colour is used for  
thread-colouring and the juice  
as lubricating oil.

Sehel behel (sigil bigil) means  
smooth.

The flesh of a dishevelled cock (as  
in cock fight) is sticking to the  
teeth ?

Munga-vegetable. The young  
leaves of the Munga tree are the  
pieces of flesh of the dishevelled  
cock ; it is difficult to clean the  
teeth after eating Munga vege-  
table, as the fibres are sitting  
fast in the teeth.

Very small leaves and a spinning  
wheel-iron as fruit.





A.—Mungā jō.

The long fruits of the Munga thin pods, are likened to the iron of a spinning wheel, holding the wool.

12. Q.—Chechā oṛarē bongā  
hon kō inungtanā?

In a ruinous house are small evil spirits dancing?

A.—Jondrā atā.

Maize flour.

The Indian corn is roasted in a broken earthen-pot, filled with sand; when hot, the corns are jumping hither and thither. The evil spirits surround the men everywhere according to the belief of the Mundaris.

13. Q.—Jā, honkō, senope!  
Aing kucharuārenā?

Go on, boys, I will curl serpent-like?

A.—Lamā' chaṭā.

The splitting of the Lama-creeper. In the month of Aghan (November-December) the fruit of the Lama-creeper splits asunder, by and by the fruit dries up and the seed is curling like a serpent.

14. Q.—Guli gāy kerātanæ, kun-  
chi gāy ṭotokojae?

The fat cow roams, the cow with the head bent down rushes in?

A.—Janum jō.

Fruit of the Janum (thorn) tree.

The tempting round fruit invites, but the man who breaks the fruit will be pierced by the thorn.

15. Q.—Dud mundite charā,  
ankri te bakoā?

On the round fruit is hair and it pricks with a thorn.

Or, Duing, duingteng charā'liā,  
bankuteng bakuliā?

I am covered with small hairs, piercing with a hook.

A.—Janum jō.

Fruit of the thorn-tree.

16. Q.—Rājā rānikōā piṭi kam  
ōṭā daṛia?

The king's and queen's baskets you cannot open?

A.—Haṭna jō.

The fruit of the Haṭna tree.

It is impossible to open the fruit, without an instrument.



"Rājā rānikōā" is often used to denote something peerless or fabulous.

17. A.—Rājā chetanrē ghasi  
dubakanāe ?

A.—Sōsō jō' (Bhelwā.)

A Ghasi is sitting on a king ?

The Sōsō (Bhelwā) fruit.

It consists of the lower red and the upper black part. Only the former is eaten. Black is a despised colour : therefore this part is thrown away. The red colour is that of usefulness and beauty.

Or :

- Arā' haṛāā chetanrē dhichuā  
dubakanāe ?

On a red cow a quail is sitting ; the uneatable black part thrown away being likened to the bird flying away.

18. Q.—Mā'tāe mindi sirmagi  
sangilā ?

A.—Naṛā.

A beheaded sheep looks towards heaven ?

Stubbles on the rice-field.

19. Q.—Miyad oṛe aprobrē ja-  
romeā ?

A.—Meral jō.'

A bird lays eggs under the wings ?

The fruit of the Meral tree (which is hidden within the leaves of the branches.)

20. Q.—Sirmā (rē) diyuñ, ote  
(rē) korej ?

A.—Jōjō ; uli.

Hanging high (*lit.* in heaven), on earth the mouth full of water ?

The tamarind (the sour taste); the mango (the sweet taste).

21. Q.—Jarkam turkam sāe ṭakā  
soāvā ?

A.—Kaṇṭar ; kōā.

Dirty, filthy, but 100 Rs. have room in it ?

The jack-tree ; the flesh around the seeds.

22. Q.—Miyad koṛa dō goṭā  
hoṛmoē datakanā ?

A.—Kaṇṭar ; kōā.

A man covered with teeth over the whole body ?

The jack-fruit.

- 23.—Q.—Engā dō risā risā, hon-  
dō jurur jurur ?

A.—Kaṇṭar ; kōā.

The mother has dishevelled hair, the child is smooth ?

The jack-fruit.



24. Q.—Kavrā setā' potā isu  
. sibilā?  
A.—Kantar; kōā.  
The speckled dog's intestines are  
very sweet?  
The jack-fruit.
25. Q.—Jiyam, lāe logor pogor?  
A.—Kantar; kōā.  
Grandson, thy stomach makes a  
noise, as if there was water in  
it?  
The jack-fruit.
26. Q.—Miyad horō nakiē baha-  
tadāe?  
A.—Koronjō jō'.  
A man has combs in his hair, (*lit.*  
adorned his head with combs  
instead of flowers)?  
The fruit of the Karanj-oil-tree.  
The oval shape of the fruit is that  
of the comb, used amongst the  
Mundaris, stuck in the hair.
27. Q.—Miyad horō datā re guch-  
uakana?  
A.—Jondrā.  
A man has hair on his teeth?  
(*Lit.* a moustache.)  
Indian corn.
28. Q.—"Kotemtana, rese kon-  
dem?"  
"Jategi, risuri."  
A.—Kā'som. Jambur-bing.  
"Where are you going, you cur-  
led one?" "Anywhere you  
man, showing your teeth."  
The jambur-snake.  
The cotton-tree.  
The cotton-tree is supposed to  
scold the snake, lying under it,  
speaking to it in an abusive  
manner. The snake returns the  
abuse by pointing to the open  
fruit of the cotton-tree, looking  
like one showing his teeth.
29. Q.—Pundite pundi gotkōā  
rang birang udarkōā?  
A.—Kā'som.  
They are driving in white (sheep)  
flocks?  
The cotton (when the ripe fruit  
splits asunder and the cotton is  
blown far away, being gathered  
by the women and children).
30. Q.—Atāmatā birkō talārē  
sañrkō tolakajā?  
A.—Lusam.  
In the dense forest bulls have been  
tied?  
The cocoons.
31. Q.—Gāe-hon jang, jang-hon  
chui?  
A.—Jarom simhon.  
The young of a cow is a bone; the  
young of the bone a calf?  
The egg; the chicken.



32. Q.—Rāja rānikōā piṭi kam tiring dariyā ? You cannot put the king's and the queen's baskets one on the other ?

A.—Jarom.

The egg.

Or thus: Rājā rānikōā poṭom kam tiring dariyā ?

Potom = the large rice-bales.

Or, Singbongā' potom kā tiringōa ?

Singbonga's rice-bales cannot be put one on the other. Singbonga, the highest power, the Sungod as the possessor of all non-plus-ultra power.

33. Q.—Kundam kundam hāthi-poṭā ?

In the places behind the houses (it is called "kundam") are thrown elephant-intestines ?

A.—Bor.

The rice-straw-rope for tying the rice bales (poṭom) which are thrown away. This is a sign of a rich landlord, as the poor people keep the "bor" from year to year. Therefore it is also said of a rich man :

Kundam kundam rē hāthipotā sōāōā ?

Elephant-intestines are decaying in the places behind the houses ?

34. Q.—Hāthia lairē kura duru ?

(There is) conversation (heard) within the elephant's stomach ?

A.—Orā.

The house.

Or, Hāthiā lairē mainākō chērē bēre ?

The myna birds are chirping in the elephant's stomach ?

A.—Horokō.

The people (inside the house.)

35. Q.—Seneyarkō balad-bilid ? (palad-pilid ; palab-pilib.)

Bamboo sticks (are moved) up and down ?

A.—Chuṭuā chalom.

The tails of the mice.

"Seneyar" is the split bamboo, used in thatching. The tails of the mice, sporting in the straw of the roof are now seen and then disappearing.

Or thus :

Aṭamaṭā birkō talārē suikō ngurtadā ?

In the dense forest needles are disappearing.

36. Q.—Hañ, huñ ghaṭi oṭā-

Ringīng open bells are to be seen,



kete nelrē samromrā piti,  
enrē gohomrā lad menā ?

A.—Hurumsuku.

37. Q.—Miyad dariyārē marang  
kunṭa bidākanā, en kuntārā  
chetanrē oṛā bayākanā, enrē  
isu pura khurji dōākanā;  
khurji lō'ōā, oṛā kā lō'ōā ?

A.—Hukka.

38. Q.—Latarrēkō basangeā,  
chetanrē sengelkō tingeā ?

A.—Hukka.

39. Q.—Chaṭu chaṭu tiringā-  
kanā ?

A.—Hukka.

40. Q.—Duniyārē bar hoṛōge  
nidā singi senhorātanāk-  
ing ?

A.—Singi; chandu.

41. Q.—Mid damra sunumte goṭā  
disum marsalākauā ?

A.—Singi.

42. Q.—Disumrē bariāgiā  
goeñṭa ?

A.—Singi, chandu.

golden baskets and inside there  
is wheat-bread ?

The honey.

In an ocean a big stump is stuck;  
on the top of it a house is built  
in which heaps of treasures are  
stored up; the treasure burns,  
but the house will not burn ?

The hubble-bubble.

The ocean is the lower part, the  
reservoir for water, generally a  
cocoanut. In the middle of it  
is the wooden tube, on the upper  
end of which the earthen top is  
put, containing the tobacco and  
charcoal.

Below they cook water, (but) the  
fire they put above ?

The hubble-bubble.

Earthen pots are put one on the  
other ?

The hubble-bubble.

In the world are two men walking  
all night and day ?

The sun and the moon.

The whole country is illuminated  
by a small oil-filled lamp ?

The sun.

There are two cow-dung flat cakes  
in the world ?

The sun and the moon.

This very strange comparison will  
be understood by those who  
have seen how the poor ones  
are gathering the cow-dung on  
the streets and in the fields  
forming it into round flat-cakes  
and pasting it to the walls of  
their houses to use them when  
dried as fuel.



43. Q.—Bariāge buṭakanā goṭā  
disum dabāōākanā ?  
A.—Singi, chandu.  
Two trees are spreading their branches over the whole world ?  
The sun and the moon.  
The all-pervading power of the light is compared with the shadow of the wide-spread branches of the trees.
44. Q.—Daruko ṭupung, rājko-  
tang ?  
A.—Setā.  
The trees are being cut, the land (is resounding from) the noise (of the axe) ?  
The dog.  
The colour of the Pariah-dog is likened to the bark of a tree. The short barking sound is the blow of the axe.
45. Q.—Miyad hoṛō'kōkō'sōṭāgi  
idibarayā ?  
Instead of "kōkō' sōṭā" also is used "datrom" the sickle ; or "karkad" the small stick, used as tooth-brush.  
A.—Setā' chalom.  
A man is strolling about with a crooked stick ?  
The dog's tail.
46. Q.—Miyad delkā (dhelkā,  
dēlā, dhēlā) ēā puṭakanā ?  
A.—Bō'.  
A clod has seven holes ?  
The head.
47. Q.—Miyad haṛā m i y a d  
bunumke jal biyuryadāe ?  
A.—Bō' ; naki.  
A cow is licking (grazing on) the four sides of an ant-hill ?  
The head ; the comb (the grazing cow) ; [or also the razors are called thus].
48. Q.—Rō'tae sim kakrādae ?  
A.—Taṛki (ṭuṭki).  
A clucked hen is cackling ?  
The wooden cow-bell.
49. Q.—Āyarrē datrom, talārē  
dhaki, tayomrē jonō' ?  
A.—Haṛā.  
In front a sickle, in the middle a basket, at the end a broom ?  
The cow.  
"Datrom" means as well the sickle-like horns as the sickle-like cutting of the grass with the teeth.
50. Q.—Miyad kuri apiā tōā-  
kanā ?  
A woman has three nipples ?





- A.—Chulā.  
The cooking-place (with its three holes for the cooking vessels).
51. Q.—Bariā kuriking moyod  
tar kiteking tārkiakanā?  
A.—Sañrsom.  
Two women are adorned with one necklace?  
A pair of tongs.  
The two hands of the tongs are the two women and the join (the screw) in the middle is the necklace.
52. Q.—Gaṛā gaṛāte pundi hisir  
atuna?  
A.—Hae mēd.  
In the rivers white hisir-necklaces are swimming?  
The eyes of the fish.
53. Q.—Nauā kiringākan kun-  
dam rēkō do'yā?  
A.—Tarpāt.  
The newly-bought (things) they throw (into the pit) behind the house?  
The ear-ring.  
“Kundam,” because the woman self cannot see the ring in the ear.
54. Q.—Hanar kimin miyad gan-  
durēking dubakanā?  
A.—Uri diring.  
Also; Miyad gandurē bar  
hoṛōking dubakana?  
Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are sitting on one chair?  
(This is not allowed, therefore mentioned as a very strange fact.)  
The horns of the ox.
55. Q.—Miyad kuṛi begar du-  
mangte susuntanae?  
A.—Chapuā sipud kuṛi.  
Two men are sitting on one chair?  
A woman is dancing without the (sound of a) drum?  
The woman treading the bellows of the blacksmith.  
The rule is: nobody dances without the sound of the drum.
56. Q.—Bariā kuṛiking āyar  
tayōmking ugud lapātanā?  
A.—Chapuā kunutid.  
Two women are bending forward and backward to the ground (as in dancing)?  
The two bamboo-sticks of the bellows.  
At the end of two bamboo-sticks, dug in the ground, two strings are fastened to the bellows, two skin-covered round frames, standing on the earth. Each of the



57. Q.—Goyākan uri sāyadeā?  
A.—Chapuā.  
two skin-covered frames, has a hole in the middle which is now covered and then uncovered by the treading women (or coolie).  
Dead cows are sighing?  
The bellows (covered with cow-skin).
58. Y.—Miyad kulā bariā uri-king misāte oṭākingae?  
A.—Chapuā.  
One tiger (the treading woman or coolie) is jumping on two cows (the skin-covered frames) at one time?  
The bellows.
59. Q.—Bariā keṛaking araṅra kedkingchi isuking sayadeā, aṛātekingchi kāking sayadea?  
A.—Chapuā.  
Two oxen are sighing heavily when the yoke is put on them, but not when the yoke is taken off?  
The bellows.  
“The yoke” means the string tied for the use of the bellows and untied afterwards.
60. Q.—Hende simdoe abarumā, pundi sim har uṛunga?  
A.—nubā; marsal.  
A black hen is sitting and hatches a white hen?  
Night; day (*lit.* light).
61. Q.—Miyad chi'chi' cheṅre goṭā disume marsaleae?  
A.—diyā.  
A very small bird brings light to the whole country?  
The small oil-lamp.  
When it dawns, the country is supposed to be awakened by the birds bringing, as it were, light in their beaks.
62. Q.—Mid gelē bābāte goṭā oṛā perējōā?  
A.—diyā.  
By one rice-ear the whole house is filled?  
The oil-lamp.  
This is an allusion to the story told about Singbonga. When coming to the earth in the disguise of a youth, he was ordered to take care of the rice; but he allowed the fowls to pick up the rice, and when scolded, he took one rice-corn by which in a



63. Q.—Miyad hoṛō janmo hulange terā gōjō hulange sama hoṛmoe dūṛuma ?  
A.—Sirā.  
miraculous way all the earthen vessels and the whole house were filled. (Cp. the similar story told about Krishna.)  
A man is sleeping naked from his birthday to his death ?  
The wick in the oil-lamp.
64. Q.—Mod hoṛo kōsā'samange nelurumōāe, kōsā'd o yā dō ka ?  
A.—Lijā.  
The face of a man can be seen, but not his back ?  
The cloth.
65. Q.—Kubā ōsarrā sondrō isu sibilā ?  
A.—Kadal.  
Or :  
Kubā osarrā tōā (the milk) isu sibilā ?  
The pus of a crooked (bent-down) cow is very sweet ?  
The plantain.
66. Q.—Chechā haṭā' dīng dang ?  
A.—Kadalrā sakam.  
The comparison of the hanging cluster of the plantain tree to an abscess is very strange.  
Broken bamboo-shovels are moving hither and thither with a sound ?  
The leaves of the plaintain.
67. Q.—Kubi gundiā hatang isu sibila ?  
A.—Kadal.  
The brain of the bowing *lit.* (crooked) plough cow is very sweet ?  
The plantain.  
"Gundi" also is the same as "holong" = the flour. This mixed with cow or sheep's brain is a favourite dish of the Mundaries.
68. Q.—Chetanrē aṛkatā, bitarrē sauri, chilka ṭekārā ?  
A.—Gungu.  
Beams above and straw underneath, how can that be (scil. in the roof of a house) ?  
The leaf-cover.  
By this cover worn in the rainy season when at work, people are covered altogether, having only their hands free to work.



69. Q.—More hageyākō miyad  
chepeḍ latārēkō misāte  
bōlōā ?

A.—Sarsarkō.

70. Q.—More horōtekō si'ya, gel  
horōtekō karayā ?

A.—Karkad.

71. Q.—Atom atomte dōē jang-  
giā, talārē dōē jilugiā ?

A.—Pārkōm.

72. Q.—Miyad oṛārē kirki menā ;  
en kirkirē oṛā paromōtanā,  
batikam oṛāren horōkō en  
kirkirē kākō paromdariya ?

A.—Dā' ; jāl ; hae.

73. Q.—Miyad horō dō garā garā.  
te rā' berayā ?

A.—Chand.

The cover is almost water-tight,  
the leaves being fastened to-  
gether and above sewn together  
with small sticks, in the above  
question compared to the beams  
of a roof.

Five brothers are entering at one  
time a flat hollow ?

The fingers (at meal-time).

They are ploughing with five men,  
but harrowing with ten ?

The cleaning of the month in the  
morning.

The "tooth-brush," generally a  
branch of the Sakua-tree, is  
first used for cleansing the  
teeth ; after it is well chewed at  
both ends, it is broken in two  
places and the "harrowing"  
(the cleansing of the tongue)  
begins. While the former is  
done with one hand, both hands  
are necessary for the latter.

On the sides are the bones, the  
flesh inside ?

The bedstead.

The bones are the wooden frame,  
the flesh is the man, resting on  
the bed.

In a house is a window ; the (whole)  
house goes through the window ;  
but the inmates of the house  
cannot pass through the win-  
dow ?

The water ; the fisher-net ; the  
fishes.

A man is going on crying in the  
rivers ?

The bamboo-weel for catching  
fish.





Or:

Miyad sandi harā garā garāte  
huñkar argu huñkār raka-  
beyā?

74. Q.—Miyad hoṛō jang, jilu-  
mayom banōā, batikam go-  
tā disume honorā?

A.—Sengel.

75. Q.—Jaṭā kanted dōē jomeā,  
holong lopongāe baharōā?

A.—Sengel.

76. Q.—Miyad hoṛō gotā disum-  
ra khurji jom chabairō kōe  
biyuā?

A.—Sengel.

77. Q.—Gō'taniā kaṭā kā nelōā,  
gō'kaiñ murdārā upun ka-  
tā nelōā?

A.—Bing; choke.

Sometimes is added: Nenel-  
niyā bō' banōā.

78. Q.—Chinam aingkem nel-  
inga? Ingā alang senōā,  
amā jiluing jomeā?

A.—Bing.

79. Q.—Miyad hoṛō bururō higi  
higi kumbāe bayākadā?

A.—Dardēgā-bing.

80. Q.—Miyad dundu-bing bariā  
bō'akanā?

A.—Jaṭi (paṭi[ya]).

A male buffalo in the water is  
ascending with roar and de-  
scending with roar?

A man has neither bones, nor  
flesh, nor blood; still he is wan-  
dering through the whole coun-  
try?

The fire.

He is eating branches and leaves,  
and flour and powder is all what  
is left?

The fire.

A man is not satisfied even after  
having eaten up all the riches  
of the whole country?

The fire.

The bearer's feet are not seen, but  
four of the corpse he takes  
away?

The snake; the frog.

The snake killed a frog and took  
it away.

The onlooker (katkom = cancer)  
has no head.

Do you see me? When my tongue  
will go, I will eat all your  
flesh?

The snake.

A man has built his huts in hill-  
holes?

The mountain snake.

The 'huts' are understood to  
mean such watching huts of the  
most simple manufacture, built  
in the fields to watch the crops.

A Dundu snake has two heads?

The grass mat.

It is plaited in single, long, narrow  
pieces which afterwards are  
sewn together with grass. The



- two heads are the ends turned over, to avoid unravelling.
81. Q.—Miyad hoṛō doyāsā'rē datākanā ?  
A.—Jaṭi (paṭi[ya]).  
The grass-mat. The mats in common use are of very rough make, only the surface is looking smooth.
82. Q.—Miyad hāthi duarrē goṭā hoṛmōē paromjanā, batikam cha'lomrē tēkedjanā ?  
A.—Riṇṛiṇ.  
An elephant has passed with his whole body through the door, but his tail has been caught ?  
(*lit.* but he has been stopped on the tail.)  
The debt.  
Debts are not finished, that is the meaning, until the last farthing has been returned.
83. Q.—Miyad hoṛō senō dōē daṛiyā, hiṇu do kāe daṛiya ?  
A.—Sār (ṭuṭṭi) ; kaji.  
A man can go out, but he cannot return ?  
The arrow ; the word.
84. Q.—Miyad hoṛō piṛi rē dōē biakangiā orārē dōē chepa'-kangiā ?  
A.—ā'sār.  
A man is satisfied when abroad, but hungry (*lit.* flat) when at home ?  
The bow.
85. Q.—Ni senōāe, ni nā'dō hijulenāe ?  
A.—Mēd.  
Now he is going away far off, now he returned ?  
The eye (seeing both things near and far away).
86. Q.—Pragaṭ nelōtankō āyar-jomtanāko, pragaṭ kā nelō-tankō jaromtanā ?  
A.—Lutur menōtankō ; lutur banōtankō.  
The visible ones are begetting children ; the invisible ones lay eggs ?  
Beings with ears, beings without ears.
87. Q.—Miyad hoṛōe isu purā kaklakā', oṛārē dō mandimandite kepad bōlōāe ?  
A.—Hake.  
Or also :  
Senōredōe hape hapete senōāe, piṛirē dōe kaklakā' ?  
A man makes great noise (in the forest), but entering home, he is silent ?  
The axe.  
When going he is quite silent, but making great noise in the open field ?



88. \* Q.—Rājā rānikōā charim chatayā ?  
A.—Ub.  
Can you split the king's or the queen's thin bamboo?  
"Chari" is the small thin bamboo-stick [or any other small stick], used in fastening the leaves, representing the plates for keeping rice or other food.  
The hair.
89. Q.—Jiyam, tikita arā'm ud dariyā ?  
A.—Ub.  
Grandson, can you eat the roasted vegetable?  
The hair.  
"Roasted" because of the black colour of the hair.
90. Q.—Hende tonangrē harā-kō tōlākanā ?  
A.—Ubrē sikriṅkō.  
In a black forest buffaloes have been tied?  
The lice in the hair.
91. Q.—Miyad hoṛō dō setā'rē "dolabu, aba, jilugedte" meneyā ?  
A.—Painā.  
A man says in the morning: "Go on, father, to chop the flesh" (as it is done at the time of a dinner when guests have been invited).  
The ploughman's stick (the iron head of which wounds the ox severely).
92. Q.—Miyad hoṛō setā'rē unu-mae, tikinenange orongōā ?  
A.—Nayal.  
A man bathes in the morning, and comes out (of the water) at noon?  
The plough.
93. Q.—Chinam nelingā ? Emad-mēaīng ?  
A.—Diri ; delkā.  
Why do you look at me (i.e., with an angry look) ? Have I not given you something ?  
The stone ; clod.  
The stone (clod), lying on the ricefield is supposed to speak to the ploughman. The thing it has supplied to the ploughman is its knock.
94. Q.—Jargi hetēteyod miyadge kaṭatiya ?  
A.—Chatom.  
The waterbird in the rainy season has only one foot ?  
The bamboo umbrella.  
The man holding it in his hands,



- is covered almost by it ; and he standing under it, is called the one foot of the umbrella.
95. Q.—Mid puru jondrā atām lekayā ?  
A.—Ipilkō.  
Can you count the flour of Indian corn in a leaf-bowl ?  
The stars.
96. Q.—Rōr darute, dā'seten-gōā ?  
A.—Kulu (kulhu).  
Water comes out of a withered tree ?  
The oil-press.
97. Q.—Pundi diri tā' te iditu-kaingme, enteng ainging sēnōā ?  
A.—Jomeā.  
Bring me to the white stones (the teeth), then I will go (alone) ?  
The food.
98. Q.—Miyad undute pandu-bing bolōtanāe ?  
A.—Denki (dhenki).  
A cobra is disappearing in a hole ?  
The rice-tamping-iron (beam).
99. Q.—Pundi otēre hende bābā-ko hereyā ?  
A.—Onol.  
On a white field black rice is sown ?  
Writing.
100. Q.—“ Eā, jilu ? ”  
“ Chiā, jang ? ”  
“ Dolā, nirālang. ”  
“ Okōe hijutana ? ”  
“ Arē mukā pandubing hijutanāe. ”  
“ Okoe kajitana ? ”  
“ Mahañ goējan hoṛōe-kajitana. ”  
A. Choke ; diri (delka).  
Halloh, flesh !  
What is it, bone ?  
Come on, we will run away.  
Who is coming then ?  
A cobra is coming, nine hands long.  
Who says that ?  
The man who died last year, says it.  
The frog ; the stone (clod).  
(Or also the “ flesh ” = the clod ; and the “ bone ” = the stubbles on the field).  
Both have a conversation together.  
Until the time of preparing the field comes near, both frog and clod were the masters of the field. Then the stone (clod) says to the frog : “ Halloh, flesh,” and it is answering with the question : “ What is it, bone ? ” And then the former





explains the approaching danger :  
A cobra, nine hands long (the  
man) is coming. The nine hands  
are the upper and lower arms, the  
upper and lower legs and the  
whole body, reckoned as one.  
The stone (clod) has received  
reliable information from the  
man who died last year. This  
man is the rain which has stop-  
ped a long time, since last year.  
Now clouds are seen, the work  
will begin again, but clod and  
frog have to run away.

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*The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama (1406-1745).—By Rai SARAT CHANDRA DAS Bahadur, C.I.E.*

The reformed Buddhist Church called *Shwa-ser*<sup>1</sup> the school of yellow-cap Lamas, founded by Tsongkhapa acquired such a celebrity within a few years of its birth that in the year 1406 Yûnglo, the third Emperor of the Tâ Ming dynasty, sent an invitation to the great reformer to visit Peking. Finding his time fully necessary for scriptural as well as monastic reformation, Tsongkhapa was unable to comply with Yûnglo's wish. He, however, sent his principal disciple to enlighten the devout monarch in the mysteries of Lamaism as developed in the reformed school, in the following year.

On his arrival at Peking, Çākya Yeçes<sup>2</sup> found the Emperor suffering from a serious illness. He performed several religious ceremonies, which were believed to have effected a speedy recovery. Under his direction a huge image of Maitreya, the coming Buddha, called Chamchen,<sup>3</sup> was constructed and placed in the monastery of Yûng-ho-kung\* founded by Yûng-lo himself. Çākya Yeçes was appointed high priest of this monastery and given the title of Chamchen Choije.<sup>4</sup> He founded the great monastery of Hwang-sze or Yellow Temple in one of the imperial gardens situated to the north of Peking.† On his return journey to Tibet he took the circuitous Mongolian route and paid a visit to his tutor and chief Tsongkhapa, making large presents to him. Shortly, after his return to Lhasa, in the year 1418, he founded the great monastery of Sera Theg cheling<sup>5</sup> with the wealth which he had amassed during his residence in the capital of China. Sera, in time, rose to great distinction and was resorted to by Lamas as a seat of learning. It now contains 5,500 monks and is second only to Dapûng<sup>6</sup> in rank.

\* This monastery is now presided over by an incarnate Lama and contains about 1,000 monks, mostly, Mongolians. I visited it several times during my residence in Peking, in 1885.

† During my residence in Peking I was accommodated in this monastery as the guest of Kusho Kudub-pa, agent of the grand Lama of Lhasa. It contains the marble tomb of great artistic workmanship and beauty erected by Emperor Kuenlong in honour of the *Tashi Lama* Paldan Yeçes, Warren Hasting's friend, who died of smallpox in Peking.

<sup>1</sup> ལྷ་སེར<sup>2</sup> ཇལ་གྲུ་ཡེ་ཤེས<sup>3</sup> ཇམ་སེམ་ཆེན<sup>4</sup> ཇམ་སེམ་ཆེན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་<sup>5</sup> སེ་ར་ཐེག་ཆེན་གླིང་<sup>6</sup> འབྲས་ལྷུང་ས



In 1408, shortly after establishing the grand annual congregational assembly called *Monlam chenpo*<sup>1</sup> at Lhasa, Tsongkhapa founded the great monastery of Gahdan<sup>2</sup> with 3,300 monks at a place some 20 miles to the East of Lhasa, and presided over it as the minister of the reformed Church till his death. He laid down the rule that his successors in the ministerial chair of Gahdan should be elected from among the most pious and learned of the brotherhood irrespective of their position in birth. Constitutionally, therefore, the Gahdan Thipa<sup>3</sup> became as his successor in the ministry, the hierarch of the Yellow-cap Church.\*

From that time Gahdan became the chief seat of the reformed Church, the monks of which put on the yellow-cap to distinguish themselves from the followers of the older sects who generally wore the red-cap<sup>4</sup> (*shwa-mar*) and were, therefore, called Shwa-ser Ge-lugs-pa,<sup>5</sup> i.e., the order of which the religious badge was the yellow-cap. They were also called *Gahdan-pa* from the name of their monastery.

In 1415, one of Tsongkhapa's disciples named Jam-yang Choije<sup>6</sup> founded Dapung now the premier monastery of Tibet with 7,700 monks under the patronage of Namkha Zangpo,<sup>7</sup> the then ruler of Tibet. In the year of the foundation of the monastery of Sera, the great reformer, whose real name was Lozang Tagpa<sup>8</sup> but who is better known as *Tsongkhapa* from the name of his birthplace *Tsongkha* (onion bank), in Amdo, passed away from mundane existence.

In 1416, Gadun dub<sup>9</sup> one of the later disciples of Tsongkhapa founded the grand monastery of Tashilhünpo<sup>10</sup> in Tsang. The establishment of these four great monasteries,—first Gahdan, then Dapung and Sera, and, lastly, Tashilhünpo,—which have played such an important part in the political administration of the country, made

\* In the recent negotiations with the British Government at Lhasa the Regent who signed the Treaty with Colonel Younghusband, was Gahdan Thipa (incorrectly named as Te-lama) in whose hands the Dalai Lama, at the time of his flight from Lhasa, had left the keys of the palace of Potala.

<sup>1</sup> མཆོད་ལམ་ཆེན་པོ་ literally, the great prayer meeting. <sup>2</sup> དག་འཇུག་

<sup>3</sup> ཁྱི་ chair, ཡ འགན་འཇུག་ one of, i.e., chairman. <sup>4</sup> རྩ་དམར་

ཞུ་མེད་དགེ་ལུགས་པ་ <sup>5</sup> འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཆོས་ཆེན་ <sup>6</sup> རྩ་མཁའ་པ་བཟང་པོ་

<sup>7</sup> མཆོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ་ <sup>8</sup> དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་ <sup>9</sup> བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ་



the provinces of Ü and Tsang the headquarters of the Yellow Church. On account of his profound learning and holiness, though of humble and obscure parentage, Gadündüb was regarded as a saint. He himself never pretended to have been of saintly origin, but people believed that he must have possessed in him the spirit of *Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara*—the guardian saint of Tibet. About three years after Gadündüb's death the possibility of the reappearance of the spirits of deceased Lamas for the first time dawned in the minds of the members of the reformed Church. The monks of Dapūng over which Gadündüb had latterly presided thought that the spirit of one who had loved his country and all living beings so much could hardly have become freed from his longings, to work for them even when he had passed out of his mortal tenements. They, therefore, sent emissaries to the different places which the Lama had visited during his lifetime, to inquire if there was born, seven weeks after his demise, any child in whom could be traced the signs of its indicating any incidents of Gadündüb's life. They also consulted their tutelary deities for guidance in the right identification of Gadündüb's spirit should it have re-appeared in any child.

At last, a child was discovered at Tanag born in the family of Sreg-ton Darma, who had settled in Tsang from Lower Kham. It revealed some signs of having been the re-embodiment of the Lama's spirit and successfully claimed as his own certain articles for which Gadündüb used to evince much liking and which were kept mixed up with other people's properties. This fortunate child was removed to Tashilhūnpo for religious and monastic education. His father, who was a lay *Tantrik* priest of the *Niā-ma* sect, instructed him in the *Tantrik* cult. When twelve years old he took the vows of an *Upāsaka* (lay devotee) from Panchen Lūngrig Gya-tsho of Tashilhūnpo; after which he was admitted into monkhood by the abbot of Ne-ñiñ.<sup>2</sup> When he passed all the examinations in the sacred scriptures he was elevated to the highest rank in the order of monkhood, after being given the name of Gadūn gya-tsho<sup>1</sup> and placed on the high priest's chair in 1511. He ably presided over the monastery of Tashilhūnpo for a period of five years. He received instruction in the Buddhist scriptures and metaphysics from such eminent scholars as Ye-ṣes zang, hierarch of Gahdan, Yontan Gya-tsho of Tsang and Panchen yeṣes tse of Tashilhūnpo. He founded the monastery of Choikhor Gyal in the plain of Metog thang in 1508. In the 43rd year of his age, in the year 1516, he was appointed to the



abbotship of Dapûng where he was better known by the title of Dapûng Talku<sup>1</sup> or *Avatâr*. In later times this *Avatâr*, in his successive incarnations, received the titles of *Gyal-wa Rinphché*, *Gyalwai Wangpo*, *Talé Lama*, etc.

With him, in fact, originated the institution of incarnations in Tibet which was but little known before and which since then has become general all over Tibet and Mongolia.

In the 52nd year of his age the Lamas of Sera elected him as their high priest, which office he held till his death in 1541. Since Kyisho, the district of which Lhasa is the chief town, had passed under the ruler of Tsang named Rinchen Pûng-pa, for a period of nineteen years, the Lamas of Sangphu and Karma sects presided over the annual prayer assembly of Lhasa called the Monlam Chenpo. Under the auspices of Gadûn Gya-tsho the Lamas of Sera and Dapûng regained their lost authority over the grand institution. Gadûn wrote several works on the different branches of the sacred literature. At the age of 68, in the year called *Water-tiger*, he departed from this life.

His spirit was discovered in a lad of four years born in the family of Ma Rinchen Chog<sup>2</sup> at Toilûng<sup>3</sup> in the year 1546. When this boy was ten years old the Lamas of Dapûng placed him on the chair of their high priest under the title of Sonam Gya-tsho.<sup>4</sup> Formerly, when the Tartar Emperor Khublai Khan made rich presents to his spiritual tutor Lama Phag-pa,<sup>5</sup> the latter had predicted that in time to come he would reappear on this earth as a Lama bearing the name—"Ocean," which in Mongolian was called *Talé*—*Dalai*, while the Emperor himself would reign as a king of the name *Altan* signifying gold—in Mongolian.

Altan, the powerful Khan who ruled over Thumed Mongolia, being told by an astrologer that in a former life he was the great Khan of China, wished to know what became of the spirit of the Lama who had exercised so much influence over Emperor Khublai. Being informed that he too was reborn in the person of Sonam Gya-tsho, the incarnate Lama of Dapûng, the monarch sent his general Tashi Rabdan to bring him to Mongolia.

In 1557, Sonam Gya-tsho became High Priest of Sera. Being in charge of both Sera and Dapûng, he exercised great influence at Lhasa. In 1563, he took the final vows of monkhood. In 1573, he founded

<sup>1</sup> འབྲས་ལྷོང་སྐྱུ་ལྷོ

<sup>2</sup> བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མཚོ་

<sup>3</sup> མ་རིན་ཆེན་མཚོ་ག

<sup>4</sup> སྐུ་མ་འཕགས་པ་

<sup>5</sup> ལྷོང་ལྷོང་



the monastery of Namgyal Ta-tshang<sup>1</sup> on Potala, but the *Shwa-mar* (red-cap) Lamas whose power was again ascendant under the auspices of the ruler of Tsang, dispossessed him of this institution, converting it at the same time to a monastery of their own school. In 1574, the Tsang army under Rinchen Pûng-pa invaded Ü<sup>2</sup> and after subjugating it, withdrew to Tsang. About this time, the messenger of Altan Khan arrived and Sonam Gya-tsho was but too glad to accept the invitation for the purpose of converting the Mongolians to his creed. He set out on his journey to Mongolia in the company of the Khan's messenger, but owing to the numerous invitations he received on the way from the various chiefs and nobles of Tibet and who importuned him for his blessings, his journey was retarded. Tashi Rabdan, therefore, parted company with him at Radeng<sup>3</sup> and proceeded to Mongolia, in advance of the Lama. Being informed that the incarnate Phagpa was coming, Altan Khan deputed three of his generals to welcome him. While passing through Arig-thang, Nan-tsho and upper Mongolia, the Lama received the deputations which brought the tidings of the welcome that would be accorded him by the Khan. Altan himself advanced up to Tshab-cha, at the source of the Hoangho, a place situated to the South East of Lake Kokonor. At the first meeting the Khan addressed the Lama by the title—*Talé Lama Vajradhara*,<sup>4</sup> *Talé* being the Mongolian equivalent of *Gya-tsho*<sup>5</sup> which signifies "Ocean." But the Lama's real name was Sonam Gya-tsho which signified "The ocean of merit." Thus originated the name Dalai (from *Talé*) Lama by which the Buddhist hierarchs of the line of Gadûn-dûb came to be known in Mongolia, China and Tibet. From that time *Gya-tsho* became a necessary and inseparable part of the name of Gadûn-dûb's successors. The Mongolians readily embraced Buddhism and became devout followers of the Yellow-cap Church. With a view to commemorate his visit to Mongolia, Sonam Gya-tsho, under the auspices of the Khan, founded the monastery of Choikhorling<sup>6</sup> in the Mongol capital. About this time the monastery of Kumbum<sup>7</sup> was founded at the birth place of Tsoṅkhapa in Amdo.

On his return journey Sonam Gya-tsho visited Khukukhukto<sup>7</sup>

\* ལུང་བུ་མ་ Kumbum, it may be remembered, was visited by Abbe Hue and Gabet and later on by Mr. W. W. Rockhill.

<sup>1</sup> རྣམ་ཐུག་གུ་ཚང

<sup>2</sup> དབུས

<sup>3</sup> རྩ་སྒྲིང

<sup>4</sup> རྡོ་རྗེ་འཕགས་པ་ the holder of the unchangeable state, i.e., Nirvāṇa.

<sup>5</sup> ཐུག་མཚོ་

<sup>6</sup> རྩ་ཐུག་མཚོ་

མཁའ་ལྷོ་པོ་

in Tibetan.



Lithang, Chamdo, Kham, Lithang, Apo, Chakhyungtag, Ngan-tig Jomokhan, Chambabomling, &c., thus propagating the Buddhist faith in Mongolia and the border lands of Tibet. Having been worshipped by all classes of people—from the Khans of Mongolia down to the barbarians of Ulterior Tibet, he returned to Tibet, full of glory. He died in 1587. The spirit of Sonam Gya-tsho was discovered in Mongolia, the favourite place of his sojourn, in the family of Sumi Thaiji, a direct descendant of Jenghis Khan, the great Tartar conqueror. The child was named Yontan Gya-tsho 'the 'ocean of good quality.' This happy incident made the Mongolians firmly attached to the Yellow Church. They kept him in their country till the 15th year of his age. The authorities of Dapûng, fearing lest the morals of their incarnate Lama might get stained by his continued residence in a country where chastity in the fair sex was unknown, brought him to Tibet at the budding of his youth. They gave him a good religious education before entrusting him with the duties of the high-priest of their monastery. About the time of Sonam Gya-tsho, the Kalmuk Tartars of Khalkha had set up a third hierarch of the Yellow-cap sect under the name of Je-tsun-Dampa<sup>2</sup> at Urga—the city of tents. A question arose as to the relative position, in spiritual rank, of the high priest of the Mongolian monastery of Gahdan and the Khalka hierarch. The Tartars of the upper and lower Mongolia were about to go to war for its solution.

In 1605, the young chief of the Celeuth Mongols effected reconciliation between the Kalmuks and his own tribe who had been quarrelling for some time on the question of precedence between Gahdan and Urga. For this service the Emperor of China conferred on him the Buddhist title of Tā Kau-sri, from which circumstance he became known by the name of Gushi Khan.

In the year 1609, the armies of Tsang again invaded Ü, but encountering much opposition they were forced to withdraw from there. In 1611, Phun-tshog Namgyal<sup>3</sup> who patronized the *Shwa-mar* (red-cap) Lamas, became the supreme ruler of Tibet. In the beginning of the 17th century the province of Tsang came to prominence on account of the power of its *Deba* or chief. He belonged to the Karmapa hierarchy known by the name of *Shwa-mar* which had its headquarters at Tshorpu and Ralûng. With a view to put to shade Tashilhûnpo they erected a large monastery in its immediate vicinity.

In the year 1615, Yontan Gya-tsho died, an event which was followed by the seige of the monasteries of Sera and Dapûng by the armies

<sup>1</sup> ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་མཚོ་

<sup>2</sup> ཇེ་བཙུན་དམ་པ་

<sup>3</sup> ཕུན་ཚོགས་རྒྱལ་





of the *Deba* of Tsang in which several thousand yellow-cap Lamas were killed. The news of this disaster to the Yellow Church enraged the Eleuth Mongols, whose general marched with a large army to Tibet and fought a fierce battle with the Tsang army at Kyang-thang-gang, and killed several thousand Tibetans. In 1620, the Mongolians retired after restoring the lost territorial endowments of the Yellow Church to the monasteries of Sera, Dapûng and Gahdan. About this time Sera and Dapûng were presided over by the grand Lama of Tashilhûnpo. In 1621, the boy Lozang Gya-tsho,<sup>1</sup> in whom the spirit of Yontan Gya-tsho had passed in 1616, was brought to Dapûng. In 1623, he was ordained and installed as the high priest of Dapûng. About this time the *Shwa-mar* Lamas had regained their lost position and were vigorously persecuting the Yellow Church.

They had, in the meantime, influenced the Kulmuk Mongols whose chief had become a convert to their creed. In the year 1636, Gushi Khan espoused the cause of the Yellow Church and entered Kokonor with a large army. At the outset of this invasion he had to encounter with the Kulmuk Mongols who had taken up the side of the *Shwa-mar* Lamas. He completely defeated them after several engagements. From Kokonor, while proceeding towards Tibet, he heard that king Beri of Kham, who was a follower of the Bon<sup>o</sup> religion, was preparing to invade Tibet. He, therefore, marched against him and reduced him to subjection. He again invaded Kham in 1639; this time, putting Beri to death, he annexed his territories to his Mongolian kingdom.

In the year 1641, at the invitation and earnest entreaty of the Dalai Lama Ngag-wang Lozang Gya-tsho, he entered Tibet with 30,000 Tartars and fought several battles with the Tsang army led by the powerful *Deba* of Tsang. After capturing Lhasa and other towns which had been in the occupation of the *Deba*, he put him to prison, annexed Upper Tsang† of which Gyan-tse was the chief town, and proclaimed himself the supreme king of Tibet, assuming the Tibetan name of Tanzing 'Choi-Gyal—the upholder of Religion or *Dharma Rājā*.

\* The pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet, called Yüñ-drüñ Bon, a form of fetishism in which exorcism and incantations were the chief features. It now prevails in some parts of Tibet, particularly, Kham, but in a greatly modified and partly Buddhicised form.

† He left lower Tsang, with Shiga-tse as its capital, to the possession of the Grand Lama of Tashilhünpo which continues to belong to that hierarchy up to this day.

‘ਭ੍ਰਮਾ’ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਤ



He appointed Sonam Choiphel as *Desrid* (governor) to rule over the country in his absence. Henceforth Tibet became a dependency of the Mongolian kingdom founded by Gushi Khan, the Eleventh chief, who owed but nominal allegiance to China. In 1643, six great nobles of China conspired against the last Tā-ming emperor Khrungtin (Tung-tin), and their leader usurped the imperial authority for some time. Shortly after, Shun-ti (also called Shunchi), a Manchu chief, seized the throne and displaced the Tā-Ming dynasty. So, owing to troubles in China and confusion during the period which preceded this dynastic change, no armed protest came from Peking against Gushi Khan's military operations in Tibet and Kham. In 1644, Gushi Khan built a castle on the famous hill of Potala for the accommodation of his court.

As soon as Shun-ti found himself secure and firmly seated on the imperial throne, he took up the foreign affairs in hand. With a view to bring Tibet again under his direct control he sent an invitation to the Dalai Lama to visit Peking. In 1651, Ngag-wang Lozang reached Peking where he was fêted and loaded with honours. The Emperor, who with his whole family embraced the Lamaism of the Yellow-Church in preference to that of the red-cap school to which the Tā-Mings were attached, decorated him with the exalted title of Tā-kausri. On this occasion, the Dalai Lama was greatly impressed with the power and splendour of the Emperor's court as well as the vastness of his dominions. With a view to make the position of his church secure in Tibet he prayed to the Emperor that China might take over the protectorate of Tibet in the manner it was done by Khublai Khan, the founder of the Tā-Yen dynasty, when the Emperor himself had embraced the Lamaism of the Sakya-pa school. He also explained that the Tā-Mings from the time they had displaced the Tartar dynasty proved themselves very staunch supporters of Lamaism and became pledged to the tenets of the Red-cap sect of the Karma-pa hierarchy. Shun-ti very gladly acceded to the prayer. From that time the Man-tchu dynasty became vouched, under solemn promises, to the protection of the authority of the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

Shortly after this, Shun-ti proceeded to Mukden, his Man-tchu capital, for offering prayers in the tombs of his ancestors. Lozang Gya-tsho accompanied him thither. At the end of the year 1652 the Lama returned to Tibet, visiting on the way the great monastery of Gon-lung in Amdo, then a flourishing Yellow-Church institution with 10,000 monks.

In 1653, Gushi Khan was succeeded by his son Da-yen Khan who appointed Lama Tin-léh Gya-tsho as *Desrid* of Tibet. The government



having passed from the hands of a Tartar General to those of a Lama, the power of the Dalai Lama, who had lately returned from China, full of glory, greatly increased. Lozang Gya-tsho, besides being a scholar, well read in the sacred literature, was a shrewd statesman of great ability. He made Tin-léh unconsciously subservient to his wishes in the government of the country. In 1668, the *Desrid* died leaving the Government in the hands of a layman named Choipon Deba, an incident which afforded Lozang Gya-tsho a still better opportunity to exercise his influence more effectually in the affairs of the state.

In 1670, Da-yen Khan died leaving the throne to his son Ratna Talai Khan. On the retirement of Choipon Deba in 1674, Lama Lozang Jin-pa was appointed *Desrid* of Tibet. Since the conquest of Tibet by Gushi Khan, the internal administration of the country, which was vested in the *Desrid*, had been practically directed by Lozang Gya-tsho, who, since his return from China, was considered as the holiest man on the face of the earth on account of his having become the spiritual tutor of the Emperor of China. He was reverentially called Gongsang-pachenpo,<sup>1</sup> the fifth supreme Lama, the four who preceded him being Gadündüb the founder of the hierarchy, Gadün Gya-tsho, Sonam Gya-tsho and Yontan Gya-tsho.

Talai Khan having become powerless in Mongolia itself, his *Desrid* became a non-entity in Tibet. In the year 1678, Lozang Gya-tsho assumed the supreme control of the country and appointed Sangye-Gya-tsho, a layman of great wisdom and learning, as *Desrid* in the place of Lozang Jin-pa. Thus the sovereignty over Tibet and Kham practically passed from Talai Ratna Khan, the great-grandson of Gushi Khan, to the *Talé Lama* Ngawang Lozang Gya-tsho, the supreme hierarch.

The ancient castle of Sroñtsan-Gampo, the first Buddhist King of Tibet, which stood on the hill called *Marpoi-ri* (the red hill), was selected by Lozang Gya-tsho for his court. He transferred his residence and court called Chyog-lé Namgyal from Dapûng to there, and laid the foundation of the famous palace of Phodang Marpo, now called *Gahdan Phodang Chyoglé Namgyal*.<sup>2</sup>

The name of the hill at the same time became changed into Potala, because the residence of *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteçvara, the patron saint of Tibet, whose spirit was believed to have appeared both in King Srongtsan Gampo and himself, was mentioned in the sacred books to have

<sup>1</sup> གོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པ།      <sup>2</sup> དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བླ་མ་ལྷ་ས་རྒྱལ།



been on the top of a hill called Potala-giri (the harbour-hill)\* somewhere in the south of India. Henceforth, from this circumstance, Potala became the chief place of pilgrimage of the Buddhist of the northern school who regarded the Dalai Lama as the holiest of holies. His young *Desrid*, an adept in statecraft, than whom a greater statesman has not appeared in Tibet, in course of three years, firmly established the grand Lama's temporal authority all over the country, including Kham and Amdo. In 1681, Lozang Gya-tsho died, but the wily *Desrid* managed to keep the occurrence secret from the public. He gave out that the Dalai Lama, whose spirit was in communion with the gods, had entered into a *samadhi* (deep-meditation) under a solemn vow not to come out to public view for a period of twelve years. He now dressed himself in *lamaic* robes, and assumed a holy character, for it was not desirable for a *Desrid* not to be looked upon as a holy man. He was regarded as a wise minister and efficient ruler: in 1683 he wrote a valuable work on astronomy, astrology and chronology called *Vaidurya Karpo*. In 1693, he completed the nine-storeyed building called Phobrang Mar-po (the red-palace) on Potala, and entombed the remains of Gongsangpa chen-po, in the central hall, in a golden Chorten (*chaitya*). In the same year he installed, under the name of Tshang-yang Gya-tsho,<sup>1</sup> a child, three years old, as the incarnation of the deceased Dalai who had passed out of his body at the termination of his twelve years trance in profound *samādhi*. During this long period the *Desrid* had consolidated the Dalai Lama's authority, having governed the country with consummate skill. He being the central figure in the government, and a layman, too, was called *De-ba*, and his government came to be known by the name of *shūng*.<sup>2</sup> At the close of the year, with a view to commemorate the accession of his late master to the sovereignty of Tibet, he inaugurated the Tshog-choi<sup>3</sup> the congregational service in connexion with the annual prayer meeting called *Monlam Ohenpo*, of Lhasa, founded by Tsong-khapa. In 1697, he wrote the work called *Vai Ser-Ohoiūug*, the history of the rise of the Yellow Church. The boy Dalai

\* The Sanskrit name *Potala* in Tibetan, is *Gru-hdsin* (གུ་རུ་ཨ་ཨོ་སྤུ་མོ་) meaning

'harbour.' The Chinese Buddhists have located Potala the residence of their favourite saint Kwan-yin (Avalokiteśvara in his Chinese form) in the island of Patoshan, situated on the coast of China about 200 miles off Shanghai, N.N.E., where pilgrims from China and Mongolia go annually in large number.

Alex-Csoma de Kőrös, by mistake, located Potala in the neighbourhood of the town of Khara Tata in the mouth of the Indus in Sindh.

<sup>1</sup> རྒྱལ་པོ་འཕགས་པ་ཀུན་མཁོ་པོ་ <sup>2</sup> གུ་རུ་ཨ་ཨོ་སྤུ་མོ་ signifying the central. <sup>3</sup> རྒྱལ་པོ་འཕགས་པ་ཀུན་མཁོ་པོ་



Lama, as he grew up in age, shewed indifference to the performance of his religious duties. He failed in almost all the examinations that he was required to pass through, before his ordination. He, however, displayed a tendency towards love-literature in which he acquired some proficiency. He selected from among the monks of Namgyal Ta-tshang young men for his companions. He composed love songs and generally spent his time in the royal groves in the suburbs of Lhasa, where men and women of all classes and age came to receive his blessings. Here he got facilities for indulging in the pleasures of life, the enjoyment of which was strictly prohibited to monks. His attention to young ladies alarmed the Lamas. At first the courtiers interpreted this unholy tendency of the youthful Lama as a mark of his communion with the *Khan-do* (female angels) who, it was given out, paid him secret visits in the guise of young maidens for initiating him in the mysteries of *Tantrik* Buddhism; but later on, when the grand Lama ran to excesses, and sung love songs and behaved in utter disregard of the canonical rules, the public became undeceived. The Lamaic authorities of the monasteries of Sera, Dapûng and Gahdan took steps for his removal from the hierarchial throne.

About this time the Chungar or the left branch of the Celeuth Mongols under the leadership of Tshe-wang Rab-dan had become very powerful, in consequence of which the influence of Kushi Khan's line over the Tartars greatly waned. The ambitious Tshe-wang Rabdan, who had made his power felt even in Russia in the north, was waiting for an opportunity to overrun Tibet.

The friends of the *Desrid* now courted his help against the enemies of the government who had reported the matter to the Emperor of China. In the year 1701, the abbots of the great monasteries with the help of the *Desrid* induced the prodigal youth to formally renounce the vows\* of celibacy and monkhood which he had taken from the grand Lama of Tashilhûnpo. An incarnate Lama named Yeçes Gya-tsho, who had come to Lhasa for that work, now took up the spiritual business appertaining to the Dalai Lama.

In 1702 *Desrid* Sangye Gya-tsho resigned his office and retired to private life. In 1705, the unfortunate Dalai Lama was removed from Tibet under a Chinese escort. He died on the way near lake

\* It is customary with the incarnate Lamas of Tibet to take religious vows from their seniors in the order. The grand Lama of Tashilhunpo being spiritually of equal rank with the Dalai Lama is competent to ordain him in the holy order. In the same manner the Tashi Lama, when junior in age, receives his religious vows and ordination from the Dalai Lama. They are related to each other as spiritual brothers and called (*Gyalsras* or *Jinaputra*) sons of Buddha.



Kokonur. When this news reached Peking, Emperor Kanghi ordered that a child in whom the spirit of Nag-wang Lozang may be discovered should be reported to him. In 1703, Lhabzang, son of *Talai Ratna Khan*, declared himself ruler of Tibet. He dismissed the militia and raised an army from among the Tartars. His first act was to surround the residence of the retired *Desrid*, his former chief, with a number of armed men and to kill him with four hundred of his devoted followers. In 1704, orders came from the Emperor to deport Tshang yang Gya-tsho to China. The faction in the Yellow-Church which was inimical to Lhabzang took immediate steps to elect a new Dalai Lama. They gave out that Nag-wang Lozang Gya-tsho, who was reported to have entered *Samadhi*, had actually died in the year 1681, and his spirit reappeared in one Pakār dsin-pa Ye-ces Gya-tsho in 1685, whose claim to the hierarchial throne was set aside by the *Desrid*. Pakār dsin-pa, who was an ordained monk of pure morals, was, however, was holding the office of the high priest of Dupûng. Accordingly, they set him up as the real Dalai Lama in 1706, but the public hesitated to accept the new pretender as their grand hierarch.

Lhabzang submitted to Chinese authority. The Lamas of the Yellow-Church were now on their wit's end, being required to solve a problem of a novel nature. Emissaries were, therefore, sent to the different great monasteries of the Yellow-Church in search of a new incarnation of the Dalai Lama. Applications came from the parents of different child-pretenders to the exalted office, which were carefully examined. At last the real embodiment of the Dalai Lama was found at Kûmbûm—the birth-place of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow-Church. The council of Buddhist cardinals comprising of the abbots of Sera, Dapûng and Gahdan, with the Tashi Lama as president, on whom devolved the responsibility of the right identification, resorted to all manner of religious rites and consultations with the gods for the purpose. All evidence having pointed towards and in favour of the discovery at Kûmbûm, in a child born in 1707, the matter was reported to the Emperor. Sanction having come, the princely child named Kalzang Gya-tsho was declared Dalai Lama, but, on account of his tender age, the child could not be brought in state to Tibet and installed on the throne of Potala. Kanghi, however, invested him with the insignia of an imperial order in 1709. But fresh dangers had in the meantime sprung forth which threatened Lhasa and also taxed the energies of the Emperor.

Tshe wang Rabdan, the powerful chief of Chungar or the left branch of the Celeuth Mongols who had risen to eminence on the downfall of Gushi Khan's kingdom, had espoused the cause of the Tibetans. The friends of *Desrid* Sangye Gya-tsho, with a view to avenge his death





and to overthrow Lhabzang, had communicated to him all that had happened in Tibet. Accordingly, Tshewang Rabdan sent a large army to Tibet for punishing the enemies of the Yellow-Church. In 1716 the Chinese and Tibetan troops fought a great battle with the Chungar army but were defeated, Lhabzang being slain in the field. In 1717, the victorious Chungars, at the instance of the yellow-cap Lamas, sacked the monasteries of rival sects such as Tshur-phu, Samding, Namgyaling, Dorje Tag, Mindolling and others, situated in the valley of the Tsangpo. In 1718 they returned to Mongolia.

About the time of the Chungar invasion the Tibetans had endeavoured to be independent, but Kanghi was determined to re-establish his authority over the whole of Mongolia and Tibet. In 1718, when order was restored in Tibet, the Chungar Mongolians being fully subjugated by the victorious Chinese, the young Dalai Lama was brought back to Lhasa from Kûmbûm by the command of the Emperor, who sent two high Commissioners ostensibly to protect the Dalai Lama but really to form an imperial residency at Lhasa which has since been controlling the political and military affairs of the country.

In 1722, the Chungars and the Oelenth Mongals of Kokonur fought with the imperial forces and were defeated. The Chinese killed upwards of seven hundred monks of all grades, including the abbot of Ser-Khog-Gon, called Chûzang-Rinpo-che, and destroyed many religious objects and burnt down many shrines and congregation halls. They demolished the great monastery of Shwa-khog. Many aged monks of Kumbum were also killed by them. In Amdo, in the following year, the Chinese generals Kûng and Yo-n theü destroyed the temples and grand congregation halls of the Gon-lûng monastery. In 1725 and 1726 there arose internal dissensions in the Government at Lhasa, the *Kahlons* or ministers having risen against the *Desrid* Shang Khang Chenpo and killed him. About this time, general Phola Theji\* who had gone to Upper Tibet returned to Lhasa with troops from Ladak, Ngabri and Tsang. He slew upwards of one thousand men who had been drawn from Ü and Kong-po by the rebel ministers, and for a time restored order in the country. In 1727, Chinese troops came to his help and he was enabled to suppress the rebellion of Ü by killing the three

\* On account of his gallant and meritorious services Phola Theji was invested with the title of Chun-wang and appointed *Desrid* by Emperor Yung-ting. Henceforth he became known in Tibet by the name Gyalpo Mi-wang. In 1734, by the command of the same Emperor, Chankya Rinpo-che brought back the Dalai Lama Lhasa from Kahdag, (Ka-thóg) and thereby restored peace and prosperity in Tibet and Kham.





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ministers who had headed it. He removed the Dalai Lama to Kahdag, or Kathog monastery in Kham, thinking it would be unsafe to keep him in Lhasa at the time.

NOTE.—This paper has been compiled from Tibetan histories such as Pagsam-jonzang, &c.





*Tibet under the Tartar Emperors of China in the 13th Century A.D.—*

(BY RAI SARAT CHANDRA DAS, Bahadur, C.I.E.)

#### THE HIERARCHY OF SAKYA.

*Legendary account.*—Once on a time there descended on the pure and lofty tableland of Ngah-ri in Upper Tibet three brothers called *Namlha* or heavenly gods. The eldest of them was *Namlha Chyiring*, the second *Namlha Yuring*, and the youngest *Namlha Waseh*.

These three brothers were entreated by the people of Ngah-ri to take up the sovereignty of their country. The youngest brother, choosing to dwell upon earth, became king and married the reigning chief's daughter.

To him were born four sons, who became known as the four Sijili brothers. They became involved in disputes with the tribe of Dong and the eighteen ancient tribes of Tibet. With the assistance of *Namlha Yu-ring* the princes compelled the eighteen tribes to submit to their authority. *Namlha Yu-ring* also choosing to reside on this earth, married Musa Demba of the family of Mu, by whom he had seven sons. These were well-known as the Musang brothers. The first six of them, together with their father, are said to have been lifted up to heaven by means of a noose called *Muthag* or *Kyang-thag* which had been stretched down by the gods for their delivery.

The youngest son married Thog-Cham Oorma, the daughter of Hoichen, the god of thunder and light. His son Thog-tsha Paotag married a princess of the *Nāga* named Tama, who presented him with a son who was brave and handsome. He married Monzah, a princess of the royal family of *Mon* (Sub-Himalaya). They lived at the limit of vegetation on the slope of a snowy peak of that great mountain and named their son Ya-pang-kye or one born in the higher grass-land. He killed the *Srin-mo* (demon) named Kya-ring Thagmeh and carried away his beautiful wife YabumSilema to his mountain house. By her he had a son who, being born of a woman captured by fight or *Khon*, was named *Khon Barkyeh*, born in the mid-region. Hence originated the great family of *Khon* which played an important part in the medieval history of Tibet. *Khon Barkyeh* married a Himalayan princess named Tsan-cham Mon. Their son was Kon-jeh, the accomplished one. Being a man of rare intelligence, valour and promise to achieve extraordinary feats, he wanted to rule over a country. His father sent him to Gang-zang-lha. There observing the eight signs of a good country he made his



residence on the slopes of the lofty Ngan-tse thang mountain. At this time<sup>1</sup> there reigned in Tibet the mighty king Thi-srong-deu tsan.

*Early History.*—In later times the family of *Khon* multiplied in the valley of *Shab-chu* in *Tsang*. One of its principal members named *Khon Konchog Gyalpo*, having received religious instructions and precepts from some learned *Lamas*, became famous for his learning in Western Tibet. On the occasion of a religious festival which took place at *Doh* he witnessed a *Lama* dance. In it, many *Lamas* who pretended to be very holy, took part. Some of them wore the frightful masks of the twenty-eight goddesses called *Wang-chug-ma*, and with different weapons in their hands, danced before the assembled people in a fantastic manner. Some *Tantrik* *Lamas*, who wore the flowing and clotted locks of the *Matrika* or *Mamo* nymphs; also danced to the music of drums and cymbals. *Konchog Gyalpo* returning home, described what he had seen to his brother, who observed: "Now the time of the degeneration of the *Nying-ma* mysticism has arrived. Henceforth, in Tibet, none among the *Nying-ma* *Lamas* will attain to sainthood. We must now sever our connexion with them. Let us, therefore, take care of our paternal possessions, our religious books and symbols. In *Mankhar* there is a Buddhist sage named *Dogmi Lochava*. You should go to take religious instructions from him." He then concealed all his sacred books securely underneath some rocks in a cavern.

*Konchog Gyalpo* could not find *Dogmi* at *Mankhar*, but he met *Khyin Lotsāva* in a cemetery at *Yahlung*. With him he studied Buddhist metaphysics. Before he could finish his studies the *Lotsāva*<sup>2</sup> died, in consequence of which he had to search out *Dogmi Lotsāva*. He presented his teacher with seventeen pony-loads of valuable things including some beads of precious stones, gold and silver. Having acquired great proficiency in Buddhist metaphysics and in some of the new theories found in the reformed works of *Dogmi* called "*Sarma Choi*" (new tenets) he became known as a religious professor. He removed his residence to *Yahlung*. Erecting a small monastery at *Taolung*, he also spent a few years there. One day, accompanied by one of his disciples, while he was walking on the top of the hill of *Taolung*, he saw a fine site for a monastery in front of *Ponpouri* hill—a plot of white land with a river flowing by its right. Noticing that it possessed many auspicious signs, he thought that if he built a monastery upon it, it would contribute much to human happiness and welfare. He asked the advice of his friend *Jovo*

<sup>1</sup> This was the first part of the 8th Century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> A Tibetan Sanskritist was called *Lochava* or *Lotsā-va* from *locha* to speak.



Dong-nag, who approved of the proposal. He purchased the land by making present of a white mare, one coat of mail, a string of beads of precious stones and a buckler to the owner. In the 40th year of his age, Lama Konchog Gyalpo founded a monastery on the plain of Sakya<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1073), which in the 13th century became the capital of Tibet and also the chief seat of the Sakyapa hierarchs.

#### CONQUEST OF TIBET BY THE TARTARS.

The Tartar Chinghis (Jenghis Khan) made the conquest of the whole of Tibet in the year 1203, about which time Behar and Bengal were seized by the Mahomedans under Baktyar Khiliji. After firmly establishing his authority first in China and then in Tibet, he ordered a general census to be taken of the latter country, but before the work could be taken up by his generals in Tibet, he died. His grandson E-chan Gotan, to whose share fell both Tibet and China, hearing the fame of the *Pandit* hierarch of Sakya named Kungah Gyal-tshan, invited him to China and received him in audience at his palace of Tulpai De. Thus the learned Buddhist Hierarch of Tibet gained the opportunity to implant in the mind of the dreaded monarch the doctrine of Buddha—to have compassion over all living beings and to effect one's own salvation by loving others. The humanizing influence of Buddhism touched the minds of the cruel and blood-thirsty Mongols. They now perceived that brute force did not make them superier to the Lamas who believed in the existence of a thing like love which conquered all. So the hierarch, in turn, quietly effected the spiritual conquest of the heartless Tartars. After his return to Tibet Kungah Gyal-tshan appointed Çakya Zangpo as *Pon-chen* (chief governor) of Tibet proper. Kungah Gyal-tsan, better known as Sakya *Panchen* (*Pan*, *Pandit* and *chen*, great), was so well impressed with the honesty and righteousness of his governor that he ordered all the Lamas with the exception of Huyupa and Sharpa Yecé Chûng to make salutation to him.

On the death of E-chan Gotan Khan, Khublai Khan (the miraculous king) became Emperor of China. He removed his residence to Peking and built the Tartar city called Khanbalik, i.e., the city of the great Khan. Shortly, after this, he ordered one of his generals named Tāmen to proceed to Tibet to arrange for its better government. When Tāmen came to take leave of him the Emperor addressed him in the following terms:—"The Tibetans are a powerful nation. In ancient times, when there was a monarchical form of government in that country, the Tibetan armies had invaded

<sup>1</sup> Sakya (from *Sa*, land and *kya*, white) signifies white plain.



China several times. During the reign of Emperor Thaijung (Tāi tsūng) of the T'ang dynasty, the Tibetans advanced as far as Utai Shan in Shenzi, and at the command of their general Pa-utan hu, all as one man carried out his orders. Since Chinghis Khan's conquest of it there has been no king in Tibet. The grand Lamas of Sakya are appointed by us. They are our spiritual instructors. Go, therefore, at once to Sakya and by the exercise of your diplomatic tact bring all Tibet fully under our rule." To this gracious command Tāmen with profound veneration replied:—"Your Majesty, in obedience to the wish of the son of heaven this servant will proceed to Tibet. The people of the country called Sifan (Western country, *i.e.*, Tibet) being brave and wild are not amenable either to their own laws or to the laws of China. Our frontier guards fail to restrain them from their predatory habits. How will your Majesty's servant proceed to Tibet to subdue them, and what arrangements about the expenses of his mission will be permitted?" The Emperor commanded that he should proceed on his mission and take the necessary funds and articles for presents from the imperial treasury. Arrived at Sakya, he should make division of the country into large and smaller *Jam* (district) for administrative purposes, apportioning lands to each *Jam* with due regard to their extent and nature, *i.e.*, according to the sparseness or density of the population in them.

Furnished with credentials from the Emperor and carrying with him suitable presents for the clergy and the laity, Tāmen proceeded to Tibet with a large armed escort and a number of survey officers. Arrived at Sakya he read the edict of the Emperor before a large number of people assembled for the purpose. He sent the survey officers to the different provinces of the country for reconnoitering. On their report he divided the country lying between Sakya and the Chinese frontier into 27 districts or *Jam*. Doh-meh or lower Doh, where the land was fertile was divided into seven *Jam*; Doh-toi (upper Doh) into nine *Jam*; and Ü and Tsang into eleven *Jam*, of which seven, *viz.*, Sakya, Sog, Tsi-mar, Shag, Sha-pho, Kong and Gonsar, were apportioned to Tsang, and four, *viz.*, Tog, Tshong-dui, Darlûng and Thom Darang, to Ü. A *Jampon* or district officer was appointed over each *Jam*.

He apportioned these *jam* to the thirteen provinces or *Thikor* into which Tibet was then divided, appointing a *Thipon* or provincial governor over every one of them. He proclaimed all over Tibet the suzerainty of the great Khan or Emperor of China. After making himself fully acquainted with the customs, manners, laws and requirements of Tibet, Tāmen returned to China. The Emperor loaded him with honours and rewards, and in recognition of his merits appointed him



President of the grand Yamen of "Son-ching Weu." In order to supervise the administration of the country now parcelled out into 27 *jam*, and to preserve the imperial supremacy of the country, the Emperor appointed one of his Tartar nobles, named Ijilig, as Resident of Tibet, and conferred on him the Tartar distinction of *Thon-ji*. He was the first minister who was sent by a Chinese Emperor to watch the state affairs of Tibet under the grand hierarchy of SAKYA. Henceforth the connection between the two countries (Tibet and China) becoming closer; free and easy intercourse, both commercial and political, made the Tibetan people happy and prosperous.

After starting *Thon-ji* Ijilig on his mission to Tibet, the Emperor himself led a large army to Jang-yul.<sup>1</sup> No resistance was offered by the people of that country to his victorious army. He annexed two provinces of Amdoh to China, and made over two provinces of Upper Doh (modern Kham) to Tibet.

In the tenth year of Emperor Khublai's reign Lama Phagpa the hierarch of Sakya was appointed spiritual instructor of the Imperial family. As a reward for this service the Emperor made a grant of the following districts to Lama Phagpa: Gacha Rab-kha, Nangso Latog-pa, Gangaitsa Lama Khar, and Dan Khang. The *jam* of Gong, which remained apart from Ü and Tsang was also assigned to him. These are said to have contained very fertile soil, a *kang* (Tibetan acre) of which was able to grow 5,000 *tar da* <sup>2</sup> of barley.

Lama Phagpa paid three visits to China, and was every time received with the highest reverence by the Emperor at his grand palace of Taitu. The Emperor, Empress and the princes received religious blessings according to the cult of the Sakyapa school of Buddhism. On the second occasion the thirteen *Thikor* <sup>3</sup> of Tibet were presented to the hierarch by the Emperor for the service of the Lamaic Church.<sup>4</sup> On the third occasion, it is stated, that all Tibet, which was anciently divided into three *cholkha*,<sup>5</sup> was presented to the

<sup>1</sup> This included the Kokonur country and Amdoh.

<sup>2</sup> About 10 lbs.

<sup>3</sup> After the survey, Dsongkha Jong, inclusive of Ngah-ri, Lo Jong and Dol Jong, was constituted into one *Thikor*. Northern and Southern Latoi-cha and Shalu comprised four *Thikor*; Da, Ber, and Khyung formed one *Thikor*; Yamdok and Tshalpa formed one *Thikor*, Gya, Di-khung, Yah, and Phagmodu comprised four *Thikor*; lastly, Jah-yul with 1,000 *hordu*, Duka-pa with 900 *hordu*, formed one *Thikor*. These were the thirteen *Thikhor* of Tibet in the 13th Century.

<sup>4</sup> Very probably one-sixth of the revenue of the thirteen *Thikor* (which was the king's due) was granted to Lama Phagpa for the service of Church and the support of the monasteries.

<sup>5</sup> Formerly, Tibet Proper and Greater Tibet, which is now called Ulterior Tibet,





grand hierarch of Sakya. Such liberality on the part of a monarch was unexampled in the world's history. The Emperor not only assigned the revenue of the whole country for the service of the Church but also kept its government under his direct control for ensuring peace and prosperity to the Land of the Lamas.

In the beginning of the year *earth-dragon* two Commissioners, named Akon and Mingling were deputed by the Emperor to make an official enumeration of the people of Tibet. They, with the help of *Ponchen Çākya Zangpo*, the chief Governor of Tibet, who was invested with the decorations and title of *Zam-du-gun, Wen-hu* for his eminent services, took the first census of Tibet. They enumerated all the families residing in the provinces from *Ngah-ri* to *Shalu* in *Tsang*, and Governor *Situ Akyi-get* worked in the remaining provinces.

Upper Tibet, comprising the valleys of the higher *Indus* and *Sutlej* which was divided into three *kor* or circles and therefore, called *Ngah-ri Kar-sum*,<sup>1</sup> returned altogether 2,635 families, exclusive of 767 families residing within the territories of the *Ngah-Dag*, the hereditary chieftain of *Ngah-ri* who claimed his descent from king *Srong-tsan-Gampo*. In the southern districts of *La-toi Lhopa*, there were 1,088 families, while the northern districts, called *La-toi chang* returned 2,250 families.

The total of families in *Ngah-ri* and *Tsang* was 15,690, and that of the province of *Ü* (Central Tibet), including *Kongpo*, was 20,763, giving a grand total of 36,453. The population of *Yam Dök* (lake *Palti* districts), which was at this time divided into six *Leb* and estimated at 750 families, was excluded from the above total. So also all the lands held by the different monasteries were not included in the state list which was made for the levying of revenues. A separate enumeration of the families contained in them was made. In *Chumig Thikor* there were 3,021 families; under *Shalu* 3,892 families. The *Chang-Dök*, including lake *Teng-ri-nor* or *Nam-tsho*, till then not being included in any of the *Thikor*, was left out in the Census.

*Mang-khar* and *Til-chen* owned 120 families; *Tsangpa*, 87 families; were included in the three *Cholkha*. All the countries lying between *Gang-thang* in *Ngah-ri* and *Sog-la Kyavo* were included in what was called *Choikyi Cholkha* i.e., the division or province of Buddhism. The provinces between *Sog-la Kyavo* and *Machu* (*Hoangho*) headwaters formed the 2nd *Cholkha*, the place of black-headed men. The countries lying between *Machu* and *Gya Chorten Karpo*, the gate of the great wall where there was a white chorten, were included in the third *Cholkha*, the original home of the horse.

<sup>1</sup> *Parang*, with the mountains of *Kangri*, formed one *kor* or circle.

*Gugé* with numerous defiles and rugged cliffs, formed one *kor*.

*Mang-Yul*, with its mountain streams and glaciers formed one *kor*.



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Bodong-riseb, 77 families; and Tomolung, Rasa, Kha-gangpa, 75 families; Dopeh mar-wa, 125 families; 35 families belonged to the service of the cathedral of Lhasa, in which the central image of Buddha the historical *chovo* or Lord Çākya-muni was located; Rasa-na-kor possessed 30 families, and Marla Thangpa only ten families.

Washi-lago returned 131 families, Gya-mapody contained 50 families, Thang-tsha, 150 families, and Tshong-dui 114 families. Within the division of Geru, including Sakya, Latoi-lho, Kodeh, Do-chung and Yahru, there were 3,630 families. Dangra and Darminyeg contained altogether 30 families.

In the province of Ū:—Under Di-khung monastery there were 3,630 families, consisting of agricultural and pastoral people called *pyopa* and *Dók-pa*. Under the Tshal-pa Lamas there were 3,702 families. Phog-modu monastery returned 2,438 families, Yazang-pa contained 3,000 families. Gya-ma-wa and Cha-yul jointly returned 5,850 families. Sam-ye and Chim-pha-pa possessed 20 families exclusive of those who resided in the ancient endowments. In Doh there were 70 families. Gung-Khor-pa and Thangpa returned 70 families. Under the Lhasa authorities there were 600 families.

Rab-tsun-pa returned 90 families and the Dūk-pa authorities of Ralūng returned 225 families. The Thang-po-che returned 50 families.

In the district of Du-gu gang and Kharagpo there were 232 and 88 families respectively. This earliest enumeration of the people of Tibet (Ū and Tsang) made during the first establishment of political relations between China and the grand hierarchs of Sakya, was obtained from a manuscript roll of *daphne* paper which contained the seal of the first *Pon-chen*, named Çākya Zangpo, by the author of the book called *Gya-poi Kyi Yig-tshang* (records of China and Tibet) in the archives of Sakya and preserved in his book.

During the reigns of Khublai Khan's successors, in land and revenue matters, a clear distinction was made between state and church possessions. At the commencement of the reign of Thakwan Themur, the last Emperor of the Yen or Tartar dynasty, Commissioners Tha-gu Anugan and Kechogtai Ping-chang were deputed to take a general census of Tibet. They were assisted by *Ponchen* Shon-nu Wang in his second administration of that country. The enumeration of men and households was made in the following manner:—

In order to be counted as a *hordu*—a Tartar family was required to possess the following:—

1. A house supported at least by six pillars within its four walls.
2. Land for cultivation comprising an area over which 100 to 1,000lb. of seed-grain could be sown.



3. Husband and wife, together with all the junior brothers who shared with the husband the wife's bed, two children, and a pair of domestic servants—in all even or more.

4. Cattle—one milch cow, one heifer, a pair of plough bullocks, one he-goat and 12 she-goats, one ram with 12 ewes.

These four heads completed the qualifications of a Tibetan family for paying revenue to the state for the lands it held under Government.

Such a family was called *Hordu*, from *hor*, Tartar nomad and *du* smoke. From the top-hole of a Tartar tent issued the smoke of cooking which gave the name of *hordu* to the owner of the tent. Though the term *Pyodu* signified a Tibetan agriculturist's house or family, the two words afterwards became mixed up. The word *tsa-du* a settled family paying revenue, also became mixed up with the other two terms.

Fifty such *Hordu* formed a *Tāgo*.

Two *Tāgo* made a *gya-kor* (circle of 100 families).

Ten *gya-kor* formed a *tong-kor* (circle of 1,000 families).

Ten *tong-kor* formed one *Thikor* or *Thikhor* (a circle of 10,000 families).

The population of Tibet proper was originally estimated at a million and three hundred thousand souls, out of which 22,000 belonged to the church. Tibet was originally divided into 13 *Thikoron*, each *Thikor* containing circles average 10,000 families or at least 100,000 souls. A *Thipon* (chief over 10,000) was appointed over every *Thikor*.

Ten *Thikor* formed one *Lu*.

Ten *Lu* formed one *Shing*. Under Emperor Khublai there were eleven such *Shing*, outside of China, over which he ruled from his capital Taitu (Peking). The three great provinces of Tibet, then designated under the name of *Chlokha-sum*, did not form even one *Shing*; yet, out of courtsey, and because it was the headquarters of Buddhism, the Emperor permitted Tibet to be counted as a *Shing*.

From every full *Thikor* Government permitted about 1,000 males to be drawn to the church to be monks for whose support one-sixth of the revenue was made a present of to the hierarchs of Sakya.

It is also stated that in the year *fire-hog*, twenty years after the first census, two Commissioners, named Hosba and Oonukhan, were deputed by the great Yamen of Peking to make a more correct enumeration of the inhabitants of Tibet. Their labours were embodied in a voluminous work called *Losal kungah gyan Rin Theng*.

In the *Debter* (official records) compiled by Du-wensha, Shon-nu-gon, and one of the ministers of Sakya, the following accounts occur:—Tibet was divided into districts and sub-districts called *Jam-chen* (larger district) and *Jam-chung* (smaller district). The province of



Tsang, together with Ngah-ri, was divided into four *Jam-chen*. Every *Jam-chen* was divided among 100 *Go*, or headmen. Sakya was constituted into a separate *Jam-chen*; South Marla thang was formed into a *Jam-chung*, Shab-khar Ngah-ri, Gyam-ring, and Pong-len, each formed a *Jam-chung*.

The last, i.e., Ponglen, was constituted into what is called *Mag-jam*, districts for military purpose yielding revenue. The *Jam-chung* Mansa-rawara was held by the authorities of Purang.

Of the 3,892 families of Shalu, 832 were made over to the Chyrog-tshang-pa, 3,060 were included in Tshong-din. So Shalu monastery was made dependent of Tshong-din authorities. Chyarog tshang was placed under 28 *Tago*. The Shang districts which were included in Tag-jam, were placed under eleven *Tago*. Yamdök was divided into 16 *leb*. The *Jam-chung* of Yarsreb was held by the Yamdök authorities.

The following *jam* were formed in Ü :—

1. Gopeh *jam* included Diklûng, with 3,000 *hordu*.
2. Dar *jam* included Chya-yul, with 2,650 *hordu*.
3. Tshal-pai Retsa contained 450 families.
4. Sog-jam, in addition to its strength of 2,650 Gyamapa (mixed Tibetan and Chinese) families, included Tshalpa Zung khar, and thereby possessed 3,000 families.
5. Tsi-mar *jam* included Phag-modu with 2,438 *hordu*, Satag with 500 and Lhasa 600 families.
6. Sha-po *jam* comprising Tugu ganj, Kharag Dûkpa, Tama Thang-pa had 200 families. Holkha-pa possessed 400 families.
7. Kong-Jam, including Yah zang, contained 3,000 families.



NOTE—The numeration of these articles is continued from p. 381 of the Journal for 1904.

## IV.

26. *Akbar's Copper Coins of Aḥmadābād.* (With plate).

In the five years that have elapsed since my article on "The Coins of Aḥmadābād" was written for the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, considerable additional material has come to light, thus rendering it possible for me now to supplement, and in some few particulars to modify, the account then given. Only the other day I noticed for the first time that the Akbarī Fulūs struck at Aḥmadābād in the Ilahī years 41 and 42, though of identical type with that of Ilahī 39, differed from my copper coins of Ilahī 40. These last, on the other hand, were not Fulūs at all but Tankas of the same type as the coins struck in Ilahī 44 and 46. This discovery set me on a thorough re-examination of all the specimens now in my possession, with the resultant conviction that the copper coins assigned in the aforementioned article to the year 40 had been misread, and should have been attributed to the years 45 (the ۴۵ = 45, not 40). In order to rectify this mistake and the errors consequent upon it, and with a view to bringing under contribution the most recent information on the subject, I now submit the following description of the Akbarī copper coins of Aḥmadābād:—

The copper coins that issued from the Aḥmadābād Mint in the name of the Emperor Akbar were of three kinds—the Fulūs, the Tanka and the Tānkī or Tānki. All were round coins, and each bore on its obverse its distinctive designation.

## A.—THE FULŪS.

Whole Fulūs: weight, 320 grains: diameter, .85 to .9 inch.

|               |   |   |     |   |   |          |
|---------------|---|---|-----|---|---|----------|
| $\frac{1}{2}$ | " | " | 160 | " | " | .7 inch. |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ | " | " | 80  | " | " | .6 inch. |

Of the Fulūs three varieties were successively current.

I. The Fulūs struck on Akbar's subjugation of Gujārāt in H. 980 bore the following legends (Fig. 1):—

|      |           |      |       |
|------|-----------|------|-------|
| Obv. | احمد آباد | Rev. | ۹۸۰   |
|      | فلوسى     |      | مستاد |
|      | شهر       |      | نيسدر |
|      |           |      | منه   |

but this variety was issued only during the years H. 980 and 981. A half Fulūs of this type is in Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet.



II. In H. 982 and thereafter for several years the Fulūs exhibited a design more elaborate and ornate (Fig 2). On the obverse the honorific epithet Dār-al-saltanat was associated with the mint name Aḥmadābād, and across both the obverse and the reverse was inscribed a diameter of dots flanked both above and below by a straight line. Thus :—

|                                                                   |                                                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Obv.</i><br>احمـد آباد<br>دارالسلطنة<br>.. ..<br>ب فلوس<br>ضرب | <i>Rev.</i><br>دوشاد و<br>.. ..<br>في نهمـد<br>٩٨٢<br>سنه |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|

III. In supersession of this variety there appeared in the year Ilahī 38 (H. 1001), or perhaps earlier, a third form of Fulūs (Fig. 3.) of a markedly different design, the reverse inscription being entirely new. From the obverse legend both the technical term ضرب and the mint's title Dār-al-saltanat are omitted, so that only the two words Fūlus Aḥmadābād survive. On the reverse above the dotted and linear diameter the term Ilahī is written in full, with its final *ye* swooping backwards right across the coin, while to the right we have in figures the year of issue dating from the Ilahī era. The lower half of the reverse is reserved for the Persian name of the month of issue. Thus :—

|                                                |                                          |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Obv.</i><br>احمـد آباد<br>.. ..<br>فلوس | <i>Rev.</i><br>٣٨ الهى<br>.. ..<br>ابران |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|

My cabinet contains a sub-variety of this type of Fulūs (Fig 4) in which the ornamental diameter composed of dots and lines is wanting on both obverse and reverse.

|                                       |                                          |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| (b) <i>Obv.</i><br>احمـد آباد<br>فلوس | <i>Rev.</i><br>٣٨ الهى<br>.. ..<br>ابران |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|

Mr. Framji also possesses a Fulūs of this type (b) of the same year but of the month Dai.

A second sub-variety (Fig. 5) is represented in my collection but again by only a single specimen. This coin differs but slightly from the normal type (a). The final *ye* of the word Ilahī in the reverse legend is now protruded instead of retracted, and the figures indicating the Ilahī year of issue are placed not to the right but to the left. Thus :—

|                             |                                          |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| (c) <i>Obv.</i> Same as (a) | <i>Rev.</i><br>٣٨ الهى<br>.. ..<br>ابران |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------|



Two remarkable specimens of the *Fulūs* are entered in the Indian Museum (Cal.) Catalogue. The obverse of each of the two is identical with that of A. III (a). The reverse, however, in one of the coins exhibits the two halves of the reverse of A. III (a) in inverted position, the normal upper half occupying the lower portion of this coin, and the normal lower half the upper portion. Thus  $\frac{\text{امير داد}}{\text{... ..}}$   $\frac{\text{... ..}}{\text{... ..}}$  In the second coin, the reverse

which is only partially legible, is entered as  $\frac{\text{امير داد ... اله}}{\text{... ..}}$  Both these coins are of so exceptional a character that a full account of them is much to be desired.

### B.—THE TANKA.

|                 |                     |                    |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Large Tanka:    | weight, 640 grains: | diameter 1.1 inch. |
| Small "         | " 320 "             | " " .9 "           |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ " | " 160 "             | " " .7 "           |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ " | " 80 "              | " " .65 "          |

The earliest known specimen of an Akbari tanka from the Ahmadābād mint is dated the month Amardād of the Ilahī year 44, (Fig. 6). The tanka, in one or other of its denominations (large, small,  $\frac{1}{2}$  small,  $\frac{1}{4}$  small), issued from that mint during the next two years. Its legends read as follows:—

|      |                                                     |      |                                        |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------|
| Obv. | $\frac{\text{تنگه اکبر شاه}}{\text{ضرب احمد اباد}}$ | Rev. | $\frac{\text{... اله}}{\text{امرداد}}$ |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------|

The reverse inscription is thus, it will be seen, of a type identical with that on the special variety of *Fulūs* denoted above as A. III (b).

It may here be remarked that the sub-divisions, whether of the *Fulūs* or of the Tanka, are not expressed on the coins themselves. A *Fulūs* and similarly the Tanka, of any denomination, large or small, is styled simply a *Fulūs* or Tanka and is so inscribed.

### C.—THE TĀNKĪ OR TĀNKI.

|             |                     |                    |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Chan Tānkī: | weight, 250 grains: | diameter, .8 inch. |
| Do "        | " 125 "             | " " .65 "          |
| Yak "       | " 62 "              | " " .5 "           |

The year Ilahī 46 witnessed the last change that was to be made in Akbar's copper coinage at Ahmadābād. From that year till the close of his reign the Tānkī took the place of the Tanka (Fig. 7 and 8). The new coin was issued in three denominations, known as the Chau (or Four) Tānkī, the Do (or Two), and the Yak (or One), and on each was inscribed its own special designation. With this exception the legend on



the Tānkī was the same as on the Tanka, the component words, however, being differently arranged. Thus:—

|                    |                     |             |                                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| I. (a) <i>Obv.</i> | اکبر شاه<br>چو تانک | <i>Rev.</i> | فرز دین الہی<br>۴۸ احمد آباد<br>ضرب |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|

Two specimens of a Yak Tānkī (not Tānki) are known, one in Mr. Wright's cabinet and the other in my own. These exhibit on the reverse a still further variation in the arrangement of the words. Thus (fig 9.)—

|                    |                     |             |                                 |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| I. (b) <i>Obv.</i> | اکبر شاه<br>یک تانک | <i>Rev.</i> | ۴۹ الہی<br>احمد آباد اذر<br>ضرب |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|

The year of issue is probably 49, but on both the specimens the figures are almost entirely obliterated.

In my collection are also two specimens of "mules," each dated Ilahī 44, Amardād, and bearing on both faces a legend identical with the normal reverse of a Tanka. Thus:—

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| Obv. and Rev. | ۴۴ الہی<br>امر دہ |
|---------------|-------------------|

The weight of one is 634 grains, and of the other 317, whence we may infer that they are in fact a large Tanka and small Tanka spoiled by some misadventure in the process of minting.

The following list registers all the dated Akbari coins of Ahmadābād known to me. It also includes those coins of the rarer denominations whose dates are wholly or partially illegible.

N.B.—In this list the expression, say 45 (2, 3, 4, 7) indicates coins of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th months of the Ilahī year 45, that is to say, coins dated *Ardibihisht*, *Khurdād*, *Tir*, and *Mīhr* of Ilahī 45: and a like meaning, *mutatis mutandis*, attaches to all the other expressions having the same form. Thus xx (x) denotes a coin of an unknown month of an unknown (Ilahī) year.

#### A. FULŪs.

|        |     |               |                                      |
|--------|-----|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| Type I | ... | Whole Fulūs   | H. 980; 981 (Cal.); 98 x (Br. Mus.). |
|        |     |               | H. 981 (Wright).                     |
|        |     | Quarter Fulūs |                                      |



|         |     |               |                                                                      |
|---------|-----|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Type II | ... | Whole Fulūs   | H. 982; 983; 984; 985; 986; 987; 988. Also 994 (Lahor); 995 (Lāhor). |
|         |     | Half Fulūs    |                                                                      |
|         |     | Quarter Fulūs | H. 985.                                                              |

|                  |     |                |                                                              |
|------------------|-----|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Type III (a).... | ... | Whole Fulūs    | Ilahī 38 (8); ? 39 (4) 3x (11); ? 40 (12); ? 41 (6); 42 (5). |
|                  |     | Half Fulūs     |                                                              |
|                  |     | Quarter Fulūs. |                                                              |

Type III (b). Whole Fulūs; Ilahī 38 (10) [Framji]; 38 (11).

Type III (c). Whole Fulūs: Ilahī 38 (8).

#### B. TANKA.

|       |     |               |                                                                              |
|-------|-----|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tanka | ... | Large         | Ilahī 44 (5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12); 45 (3, 4, 5, 7), 46 (2). "Mule." 44 (5).  |
|       |     | Small         | Ilahī 44 (5, 8, 9, 11); ? 45 (1); 45 (2, 3, 4, 7 x); 46 (3). "Mule." 44 (5). |
|       |     | Half Small    | Ilahī 45 (4); 4 x (1); x x (4, 5, 12, x).                                    |
|       |     | Quarter Small | Ilahī 44 (5, x); x x (x).                                                    |

#### C. TANKI.

|                |     |            |                                                                                                         |
|----------------|-----|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Type I (a).... | ... | Chau Tānkī | 46 (9); 47 (1); ? 48 (2); 48 (4, 7, 9 x); 49 (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12); 50 (1, 3, 5); 5 x (2, 4, 6, 7). |
|                |     | Do Tānkī   | 46 (11); 47 (4); 4 x (10); 5 x (4); x x (1, 6, x).                                                      |
|                |     | Yak Tānkī  | x x (x).                                                                                                |

Type I (b). Yak Tānkī: ? 49 (9).

From this list it will be seen that within the limits of Akbar's



reign the following periods are still unrepresented by any copper coin of Aḥmadābād :—

Deest ... { H. 989—993; \*  
H. 996—Ilshī 38 (7);  
Il. 42 (6)—44 (4);  
Il. 46 (4)—46 (8).

The coins as at present known may thus be roughly classified as follows.

| Period.           |     | Class.                    | Denomination.                            |
|-------------------|-----|---------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| H. 980, 981       | ... | Fulūs I                   | Whole Fulūs; Half Fulūs.                 |
| H. 982—988        | ... | Fulūs II                  | Whole Fulūs; Quarter fulūs.              |
| H. 989—993        | ... | D e                       | e s t.                                   |
| H. 994, 995       | ... | Fulūs II                  | Whole fulūs.                             |
| H. 996—Il. 38 (7) | ... | D e                       | e s t.                                   |
| Il. 38 (8)—42 (5) | ... | Fulūs III, a) or b) or c) | Whole Fulūs.                             |
| Il. 42 (6)—44 (4) | ... | D e                       | e s t.                                   |
| Il. 44 (5)—46 (2) | ... | Tanka                     | Large; Small; Half Small; Quarter Small. |
| Il 46 (3)—46 (8)  | ... | D e                       | e s t.                                   |
| Il 46 (9)—50 (7)  | ... | Tānkī or Tānkī I (a or b) | Chau; Do; Yak.                           |

GEO. P. TAYLOR.

\* It should be borne in mind that in the year H. 991 coins were struck at Aḥmadābād, by the ex-Sultān, Muḥaffar III, during the five months of his resumed sovereignty.

### 27. A New Mint of Aurangzeb.

Æ.

Weight, 177 grains.

Mint, Purbandar.

Date, 1116—4x.

Obv.

عالم گیر

۱۱۱۶

اورنگ زیب

شاه

چو بدر منیر

سکه

زد در جهان



Rev      مالهوس  
 میمنت  
 ۴  
 سنه جلوس  
 ضرب  
 پربندر

This rupee turned up in a find of 129 coins in the Bhandāra district of the Central Provinces. The mint may probably be identified with Purbandar, commonly spelt Porbandar, a town on the west coast of Kathiāwār, long. 70° lat. 22° and a port of importance in early times: cf. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 444. It is not far from Junagarh which was a well-known mint in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Two other coins only from this mint are known—one in the Cabinet of Mr. G. B. Bleazby of Allahābād, and the other in the Cabinet of Dr. G. P. Taylor of Ahmadābād. The former is of the reign of Shāh Alam Bahādur Shāh, the latter of Farrukhsiyar dated A. H. 1128—

H. N. WRIGHT.

28. *Coins of the Murshidābād Mint between 1748 and 1793 A.D.*  
 (With plate.)

Great difficulty has always been felt in distinguishing between the native coinage of the Murshidābād mint during the early days of the East India Company's administration of Bengal and the Company's own coinage. There appears to be no record shewing exactly when the native coinage ended and the Company's issues began.

A few facts only stand out definitely.

We know that in 1757, after the recapture of Calcutta, the Company received permission to establish a mint in Calcutta, and coins are known of 1171 A.H. (1757-8) bearing the mint name "Calcutta."

It is further known that in 1765 (1178-79), after the battle of Buxār, the Company assumed the right of coinage in Bengal.

From Regulation XXXV of 1793 we learn that the mints at "Patna, Dacca and Murshidābād" were withdrawn "soon after the commencement of the Company's administration,"<sup>1</sup> and that the coinage of sicca rupees was confined thereafter to Calcutta. The latest rupee, so far

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thurston in his paper on the "History of the East India Company Coinage" [*J.A.S.B.* 1893, p. 61], in talking of the copper coinage, mentions 1772 as the date of withdrawal. He states no authority for this date. The facts I mention indicate an earlier one.



known, bearing the name Calcutta, is of the year 1176 A.H. = 1762-3. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. No. 67, p. 277. It is generally supposed that this name was discontinued and Murshidābād substituted when the Company assumed the right of coinage in Bengal; that from 1765 (1178-9 A.H.), till the native mint at Murshidābād was closed, coins were issued bearing the mint name Murshidābād from both the Murshidābād and Calcutta Mints, and that the latter were probably an imitation of the former. Certain facts have, however, come to light which seem to render it doubtful whether the issue of Murshidābād native style rupees from the two mints was ever carried on simultaneously, at any rate prior to 1792 A.D. when a mint was re-established at Murshidābād.

The most recent paper dealing with this subject is a very useful one by Mr. J. M. C. Johnston in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1903, Part I, p. 71. Mr. Johnston says on pp. 75-76:—

“There is little doubt but that the Nawāb of Bengal continued to strike coins at his own mint at Murshidābād side by side with the Company's coins, which bore the same mint name, but were probably struck at Calcutta. The result is that for some years coins of native fabric appear side by side with others struck in a collar in European style, all bearing the mint name Murshidābād.”

“In the native style it is impossible to say whether the coins were actually struck by the Nawāb or by the Company, but, as the Province was then under the control of the East India Company, it seems reasonable to place all the coins with the mint Murshidābād after the Hijrah date 1177, or with a higher regnal year than six of the nominal reign of *Shāh 'Alam*, under the British series. All with earlier dates would naturally fall to the Moghul issues.”

The classification suggested by Mr. Johnston is a practical one, as coins struck in and after 1765 (1178-9 A.H.) though issued from the Murshidābād mint must have been issued with the permission, tacit or otherwise, of the East India Company, and may therefore rightly be regarded as Company's coins. I venture, however, to hazard the suggestion that the Calcutta mint did not commence to issue Murshidābād native-style rupees until the Murshidābād mint was closed.

A hoard containing, among other coins, 119 native-style rupees of *Shāh 'Alam*, bearing the mint name Murshidābād, has recently been acquired by Government as treasure-trove, and I have had the opportunity of examining them as Honorary Numismatist to the Asiatic Society. The hoard was discovered in the Dinājpur district of the province of Bengal and contains the following specimens of Murshidābād rupees of *Shāh 'Alam* in native style, which give both the Hijra date on the obverse and the regnal year on the reverse.



| <i>Regnal year.</i> | <i>A.H.</i> | <i>A.D.</i> | <i>Number of<br/>coins.</i> |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 2                   | 1175        | = 1761-62   | ... 1                       |
| 3 (1175-6)          | 1176        | = 1762-63   | ... 2                       |
| 5 (1177-8)          | 1178        | = 1764-65   | ... 2                       |
| 7 (1179-80)         | 1180        | = 1766-67   | ... 4                       |
| 8 (1180-81)         | 1181        | = 1767-68   | ... 1                       |
| 9 } (1181-82)       | 1181        | = 1767-68   | ... 1                       |
| 9 }                 | 1182        | = 1768-69   | ... 7                       |
| 10 (1182-83)        | 1183        | = 1769-70   | ... 9                       |
| 12 } (1184-85)      | 1185        | = 1771-72   | ... 2                       |
| 12 }                | 1186        | = 1772-73   | ... 1                       |
| 15 } (1187-88)      | 1189        | = 1775-76   | ... 2                       |
| 15 }                | 1190        | = 1776-77   | ... 3                       |
| 19 }                | 1191        | = 1777-78   | ... 1                       |
| 19 }                | 1192        | = 1778-79   | ... 4                       |
| 19 }                | 1194        | = 1780      | ... 1                       |
| 19 } (1191-92)      | 1197        | = 1782-83   | ... 2                       |
| 19 }                | 1199        | = 1784-85   | ... 1                       |
| 19 }                | 1201        | = 1787-88   | ... 2                       |
| 19 }                | 1202        | = 1788-89   | ... 2                       |
| 19 }                | 1205        | = 1791-92   | ... 2                       |

It will be observed from the above list that, taking the first regnal year of *Shāh 'Alam* as counting from 4th Jumāda I, 1173 (the day of his accession) to 3rd Jumāda I, 1174 and so on, the Hijra dates are correctly given on the coins up to the 10th year. The British Museum possesses a rupee in native style of the 11th year, also with a correct Hijra date 1184. From the 12th year, however, the Hijra dates on the obverse no longer correspond in all cases with the regnal years given on the reverse. For instance, the date 1186 is found on a rupee of the 12th year which closed on 3rd Jumāda I, 1185; and, similarly, 1189 and 1190 appear on coins of the 15th regnal year which closed in 1188. The presumption is that no native style rupees were struck in the 13th, 14th,<sup>1</sup> 16th, 17th and 18th regnal years bearing the correct regnal years. This is strengthened by a sentence in the regulation of 1793 in which it is stated that, while the 19 san rupee is the established coin of the country, "the rupees of the eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth san were directed to be considered current equally with the 19th san sicca rupee."

<sup>1</sup> I find on p. 107 of the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, a coin which is assigned to the year 14; but it seems doubtful from the legend given whether 14 is not a misprint for 10.



This latter sentence suggests the question: if rupees of the 11th, 12th and 15th san were to be considered current along with the 19th san rupee, why should rupees of earlier *samwāt* have been excluded, if equally struck in the Calcutta mint? A possible answer is, I think, disclosed by a close examination of the earlier Murshidābād rupees. The coins of the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 8th and 9th years in the Dinajpur find bear, without exception, on the obverse, between the upward curve of the *ل* of *فضل* and the *س* of *شاه* a mint mark which is probably meant to represent a rayed sun. Out of 19 rupees of the 10th year, however, only three coins bear this mark. In the other 16 it is replaced by a crescent. This crescent is borne on all the rupees of the 12th (7), 15th (12) and 19th (51) san. Quære: Does the change from the sun to the crescent mark the closing of the Murshidābād mint and the transfer of the coinage of Murshidābād rupees to the Calcutta mint? It is of course possible that this change in mint marks was only a consequence of a change in mint masters,<sup>1</sup> but it is often a straw which shews the way the wind blows, and the suggestion I have thrown out seems to some extent supported by other circumstantial evidence. We know that the Murshidābād mint was not closed till "soon after the commencement of the Company's administration," i.e., soon after 1765 (the 6-7th year of *Shāh'Alam's* reign). We find that the earliest European style coinage (indubitably from the Calcutta mint) begins in the 10th year or 1768-9 A.D. (see No. 25 of Mr. Johnston's list); and, thirdly, we have the exclusion in 1793 from the currency of rupees of years prior to the 11th regnal year of *Shah'Alam*. (It would be natural to exclude the Calcutta-struck rupees of the 10th year because their inclusion would render difficult the exclusion of the Murshidābād-struck rupees of the same year, and the intention of the legislature seems to have been to render obsolete all native mint coins). These three points may not individually be strong ones, but when taken together and in combination with the change of mint mark also in the 10th regnal year of *Shah'Alam*, they seem to me sufficient to warrant an inference that the coinage of native style Murshidābād rupees was transferred to Calcutta in 1768 or 1769, and that probably before that date the issue of those coins was confined to Murshidābād.

The Dinājpur find is also interesting in another way. Mr. Johnston, on p. 76 of his paper, suggests another method of distinguishing between native issues and Company's coinage. He says: "Fortunately

<sup>1</sup> The sun mint mark first appears on the coins of Murshidābād in the reign of 'Alamgir II. (1168 A. H.) and continued without interruption till the 10th year of *Shah'Alam* (1183) A.H.



there is a further distinction than that of date to be drawn between the late Moghul issues, and the continuation of the same series under the Company's rule; it is in the fact that for the first time the latter bear on the reverse the "cinquefoil" a mint mark apparently instituted at Calcutta and adopted at Murshidābād when the Company took over the mint with the administration of the district. The presence, therefore, of this mint mark on a coin bearing the Murshidābād mint name, can be taken as evidence that the coin should be classed in the British series."

It is true that the "cinque foil" appears on the earliest Calcutta rupee known (No. 1 in the list appended to Mr. Johnston's paper). The Dinājpur find, however, contains the following rupees of Murshidābād mint bearing, either in whole or part, the "cinque foil" mark, viz., one rupee of Muhammad Shāh of 30th regnal year, six rupees of Ahmad Shāh of 2nd (3), 3rd, 5th and 6th regnal years, and five rupees of Shāh'Alam of the 2nd, 3rd (2) and 5th (2) regnal years, i.e., before the annexation of Bengal. It seems clear then that the presence of the "cinque foil" on the Murshidābād coins cannot be taken as evidence that those coins belong to the British series, as that mark appears on Mughal issues from Murshidābād some years before any mint was founded at Calcutta, and the right of coinage was assumed by the Company. The Calcutta mint must, therefore, have borrowed the "cinquefoil" from Murshidābād under the Mughals.

To summarise the above remarks, two special features of interest appear to me to be disclosed in the Dinājpur find—(1) the conclusive evidence that the "cinquefoil" mint mark is of earlier than Calcutta origin and cannot therefore be a guide to the classification of the "British series" coins; (2) the inferential evidence afforded by the mint marks on the coins and indirectly supported by other material that the closing of the Murshidābād mint occurred in the 10th regnal year of Shah'Alam or 1768-69 A.D., and that before that date native style Murshidābād rupees were struck at Murshidābād only and after that date at Calcutta only.

H. N. WRIGHT.

#### V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

29. *Note regarding a silver coin found near Gargāon in the Sibsāgar district. (With plate.)*

The specimen sent to me for inspection is a square coin weighing 175 grains. The edges have been clean cut, and the general appearance of the coin is of one which has apparently been recently struck.



The coin contains the following inscriptions :—

| <i>Obverse</i>                                                       | <i>Reverse</i>                                                                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ' Siva Singha Shāh and also the moon-faced Begam Pramatheswari Shāh. | Struck at Gargāon in 1651, being the 15th year of (the king's) auspicious reign. |

The year 1651 is of the Sāka Era which corresponds to A.D. 1729. Śiva Singha was an Ahom king who reigned from Sāka 1636 to Sāka 1666 (A.D. 1714-1744) according to Kaśi Nath Tamuli Phukon's Buranji.

The interesting point about the coin is the Persian inscription which is unusual, coins of this period generally bearing an inscription in the Assamese character and being octagonal in shape, not square. The tiger or rather dragon occurs on all the Ahom coins. It will be observed that the coin bears the name of the Queen Pramatheswari in addition to that of the Rājā, the explanation being as follows: At a period in Śiva Singha's reign the Parbatia Gossain and certain Pandits predicted disaster to the reigning Prince who, in consequence, abdicated in favour of his Queen Phuleswari whose name was then changed to Pramatheswari. The Queen's name was then struck on the coins in conjunction with that of her consort the Rājā Śiva Singha (see page 132 of Gunabhiram Barua's Buranji, Calcutta edition).

P. R. T. GURDON.

The find contained no less than 143 of these coins.

H. N. W.

30. *A local copper currency in the Dewās State, Central India.*  
(With plate.)

The following note has been communicated by the Minister to His Highness the Raja of Dewās, Junior Branch, through Mr. W. E. Jardine, formerly Assistant to the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. Similar notes on the other local currencies alluded to in the Minister's memorandum would be interesting, it being desirable to preserve records of such local currencies before they disappear under the spread of British Indian coinage.

H. N. W.

"Inquiry into the payment of wages to relief-labourers has forced

<sup>1</sup> The following would appear to be a more literal translation: "The coin of Śiva Singha Shāh resembling the sun is struck by order of the Queen Pramatheswari Shāh."—H. N. W.



upon my attention the copper coin difficulty similar to that I noticed at Ringnode. In this pargana, the copper coins current are the "Allote" pice. It is very strange that Allote, a pargana subordinate to Dewās, Senior Branch, should have a copper currency of its own. Whatever may have been the case before the adoption of the British Indian currency in the State, it is certainly inexplicable how, after that event, the Senior Branch should not only maintain the Allote copper currency, but even go on manufacturing new pice and putting them on the market. I at first thought that, although the Allote pice are still current, they must be the relics of times prior to the introduction of the British Indian coinage; but on careful inquiry I learn that they are manufactured anew from time to time, and I have actually secured a number of brand-new ones from a shroff, who vouches for their being not more than one month old. I examined the shroff's whole stock—several bagsful—and found "Allote" pice of different degrees of oldness or newness, call it what you like. The shroff tells me that at this very moment the manufacture is going on at Allote. To corroborate his statement, I actually sent for the artizan who is employed in the Senior Branch for the manufacture and have had it verified. He gets Rs. 7 a maund when he makes pice from plates of copper, and Rs. 3 when he simply coins ready pieces. The Allote tahsil turns out pice with a particular mint mark (an image of Śiva with a "Bael" tree). The difference between the metal-value and token value, I presume, comes to the State as profit. The manner in which they manufacture the 'Allote' pice is this: They either cut up new plates of copper of the required thickness into pieces and strike the impression upon them, or recently, since plates have become dearer, they use for this purpose the copper coins of some of the neighbouring States, which are similar to the Allote pice in all respects, except the impression—such as the Kotah pice, the Gangrār pice, the Sitāmau pice, the Sailāna pice and so on. They get these pice, and after effacing the first impression, produce the 'Allote' impression on them, and then the pice pass off as 'Allote' pice. They get the former at 36 annas, which when converted into Allote pice sell at 32 annas. The difference, less cost of conversion, is the Senior Branch's profit."

*Note by the Superintendent of the Dewās State, Senior Branch.*

1. There are no means to ascertain as to the origin or exact date from which this pice was introduced in the pargana: the oldest surviving residents declare they have seen it current for generations past.



2. Looking at the oldest pice now current, it is seen that the design on the obverse is that of Trisūl (a three-pointed weapon) and drum with the word Shri on either side. As these are the emblems of the deities worshipped by the Puār Rājās, it is clear that this pice must have been introduced some time after the rule of the Puār dynasty was established.

3. Among the pice current, there are some which, in addition to the above designs, bear the mark of a tree as well, and in others there are some other modifications. These changes appear to have been introduced subsequently on additional quantities being struck to meet the requirements of the pargana.

4. It appears that interested parties (bankers) have, on different occasions, bought and withdrawn from circulation a large proportion of these copper coins, in order to force up the rate of exchange and make a profit by selling the same at a higher rate. To counteract such proceedings, the Kamasdārs concerned ordered new supplies to be struck with certain modifications in the original designs of the coin, which accounts for the different changes in the designs on the obverse and reverse of the coin.

5. In Sambat 1928, corresponding to A.D. 1870-71, some change in the design was introduced; and again in the years 1893-94 the mark of a tree was added on to the design. This coin appears to be the latest now in circulation. The weight of the old pice is 13 mashas and that of the new ones is from 10 to 11 mashas.

6. Whenever a new supply was required a contractor was engaged to do the work (with rude moulds or rather iron stamps) without any cost to the State, and so the transaction never appears in the State account.

7. In the year 1893-94 copper coins worth Rs. 5,000 were struck, and the contract was given to Onkurlal Supkaran Das, banker, who had stipulated to buy at  $16\frac{1}{4}$  annas and sell at 16 annas for the rupee of Pratāpgarh mint. This contract continued for two years only without any fluctuations in the rate of exchange.

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1  
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Æ



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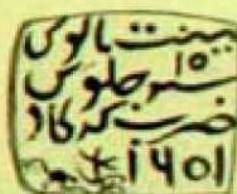
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## INDEX SLIPS.

### BOTANY.

PRAIN, D. and BURKILL, I. H.—On *Dioscorea deltoidea*, Wall., *Dioscorea quinqueloba*, Thunb., and their allies. Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, LXXIII, pt. ii, 1904. Supplement, 1904.

#### DIOSCOREACEÆ.

Characters (p. 1.) division into groups (p. 2.) and key to eleven species of *Dioscorea* (p. 2).

Descriptions of the following new species:—

- Dioscorea prazeri*, from Burma (p. 2).
- „ *sikkimensis*, from Sikkim (p. 3).
- „ *panthaica*, from S. W. China (p. 6).
- „ *yokusai*, from Japan (p. 10).
- „ *enneanura*, from Central China (p. 11).

### ZOOLOGY.

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# JOURNAL

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## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Vol. LXXIII. Part II.—NATURAL SCIENCE.

Supplement—1904.

*On Dioscorea deltoidea, Wall., Dioscorea quinqueloba, Thunb., and their allies.*—By D. PRAIN AND I. H. BURKILL.

In the following paper we describe eleven species of *Dioscorea*—three Indian, three Chinese, and five Japanese. They are all allied plants, with many characters in common: and as it may perhaps conduce to clearness we give the common characters as a preliminary.

Characters which these Yams have in common.

- I. Tubers as far as known inedible, not lying deep in the soil, at times growing like rhizomes parallel with the surface.
- II. Stems always twining to the left.
- III. Leaves cordate (or truncate below), constricted more or less towards the middle, or else lobed, with 5–9 palmately arranged nerves.
- IV. Male flowers generally two or more together.
- V. Female spikes pendulous, with recurved fruit.
- VI. Wings of capsules with a tendency to be quadrate.
- VII. Seeds winged all round but irregularly so, apparently distributed as from swinging censers by the movement of the flexuous slender spikes in the wind.

The species group themselves naturally in a way that more or less accords with their distribution. The first little group contains four,—

J. II. I



*Dioscorea deltoidea*, *D. sikkimensis*, *D. Prazeri*, and *D. panthaica* which are found in the lower Himalaya and mountains east of it: they are all closely allied. Next stands rather alone *D. acerifolia* from Central China. Thirdly come the three closely allied Japanese species *D. septemloba*, *D. nipponica* and *D. quinqueloba*. Lastly stand two species from Japan, *D. tenuipes* and *D. Yokusai*, associated with *D. enneaneura* from Central China. Uline, who has recently done valuable work upon the genus *Dioscorea*, refers some of the species to a section which he names *Stenophora*; but it is not clear to us if he would so refer all. We therefore leave undiscussed for the present the question of sections.

*Dioscorea birmanica*, which we described in a recent paper, is allied to the yams under discussion; but, with the horizontal inedible rhizome and dependent female inflorescences and the censer mechanism for seed distribution, it combines leaves not constricted or lobed, as well as a robustness which is foreign to all except, it may be, *D. acerifolia*; moreover none are thorny to the degree that it is, and none have precisely similar cymules of male flowers.

The following is a key to the species which we shall forthwith describe:—

Anthers not didymous:—

Leaves quite smooth beneath:—

- |                             |     |     |     |                      |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------|
| Male flowers not pedicelled | ... | ... | ... | <i>Prazeri</i> .     |
| Male flowers pedicelled     | ... | ... | ... | <i>sikkimensis</i> . |

Leaves with hairs or papillæ beneath:—

Male flowers sessile:—

- |                                               |     |     |                    |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------|
| Male inflorescence slender, little branched   | ... | ... | <i>deltoidea</i> . |
| Male inflorescence much branched, subthyrsoid | ... | ... | <i>panthaica</i> . |

Male flowers stalked:—

- |                                   |     |     |                     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|
| Male inflorescence long and rigid | ... | ... | <i>acerifolia</i> . |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|

Male inflorescence slender:—

- |                             |     |     |                     |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|
| Leaves 7-lobed, lobes acute | ... | ... | <i>septemloba</i> . |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|

Leaves 3-5-lobed, lobes obtuse:—

- |                          |     |     |                      |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|----------------------|
| Capsule longer than wide | ... | ... | <i>nipponica</i> .   |
| Capsule as wide as long  | ... | ... | <i>quinqueloba</i> . |

Anthers didymous:—

- |                         |     |     |                   |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|
| Perianth segments equal | ... | ... | <i>tenuipes</i> . |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|

Perianth segments unequal:—

- |                                            |     |     |                     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|
| Male flowers in cymules, larger            | ... | ... | <i>Yokusai</i> .    |
| Male flowers solitary or in pairs, smaller | ... | ... | <i>enneaneura</i> . |

**DIOSCOREA PRAZERI.** *Rhizoma* crassum, aliquanto informe, parum hypogæum, venenosum, carne albo. *Caulis* e radice singulus, glaber, sinistrorsum volubilis, teretiusculus, inermis, viridis, bulbifer. *Folia* alternata, chartacea, utrinque glaberrima, subtus glauca, pellacide punctata,



late cordata vel sursum ovato-cordata, acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, basis sinu lato vel latissimo, margine nonnunquam plus minusve undulata, 7- vel 9-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, nervulis secundariis reticulatis utrinque distinctis, plurima 8-12 cm. longa 10-16 cm. lata, nonnunquam tamen ad 20 cm. longa lataque: petiolus glaber, sulcatus, 4-7 cm. longus. *Spicæ masculæ* simplices (rarius singulæ sæpius 2-6-næ) vel paniculatæ, axillares; flores glomerati, 2-3-ni, sessiles in rhachi trigona sparsim sed fere prorsus dispositi: pedunculus glaber: bracteæ sub ramulis panicularum lanceolatæ 3mm. longæ, sub glomerulis florum ovato-lanceolatæ: bracteolæ ovato-acuminatæ, naviculari-concavæ. *Perianthii masculi* laciniae ovatæ, obtusæ, subæquales et subsimiles, patentes. *Stamina* 6, æqualia, filamentis æquilonga: antheræ filamentis multo breviores. *Spicæ femineæ* axillares, solitariae, simplices, ad 12 cm. longæ, dependentes; flores ad 10-12, sessiles, deorsum spectantes, circiter 1 cm. remoti: bracteæ et bracteolæ adsunt. *Capsulæ* sessiles, assurgentes: alæ maturæ pergamentaceæ, irregulariter subquadrato-semicirculares, 2.5 cm. longæ, 1.5 cm. latæ, stramineo-corneæ, glaucescentes. *Semina* in loculo quoque gemina, ovato-oblonga, .85 cm. lata, 1.25 cm. longa circumcirca alata, rufo-brunnea.

NORTHERN BURMA. Upper Chindwin District: Sittaung, *Prager*. Bhamo District: Bhamo, *Burkill* in herb. R.E.P. 21537; Momouk, east of Bhamo, *Burkill* in herb. R.E.P. 21507, 21509, 21514. Katha District: Katha, in forests on black soil, *Burkill* in herb. R.E.P. 21557, 22493, 22494, 22495, 22496, 22652, 22658, 22664, 22665.

In the districts of Bhamo and Katha this *Dioscorea* occurs in the forests of *Dipterocarps*.

**DIOSCOREA SIKKIMENSIS.** *Rhizoma* crassum, aliquanto informe, parum hypogæum, venenosum, carne luteo-albo. *Caulis* e radice singulus, glaber, sinistrorsum volubilis, teretiusculus, inermis, purpureo suffusus, bulbifer (an semper?). *Folia* alterna, chartacea, utrinque glaberrima, subtus læte viridia, pellucide punctata, subdeltoideo-ovato-cordata vel late cordata, acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, basis sinu lato vel latissimo, margine nonnunquam plus minusve undulata, 7- vel 9-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, nervulis secundariis reticulatis utrinque distinctis, plurima 9-16 cm. longa, 7-9 cm. lata nonnunquam tamen usque ad 20 cm. longa lataque: petiolus glaber, sulcatus, 4-7 cm. longus. *Spicæ masculæ* simplices vel rarius paniculatæ, singulæ vel binæ vel ternæ, axillares: flores glomerati, 2-3-ni, breviter pedicellati, glomerulis in rhachi trigona 2-4 mm. distantibus:



pedunculus glaber: bracteæ sub ramulis panicularum lanceolatæ, 3 mm. longæ, sub glomerulis ovato-lanceolatæ pedicellos subæquantes: bracteolæ ovato-acuminatæ, naviculari-concavæ, pedicellis dimidio breviores. *Perianthii masculi* lacinie ovatæ, subacutæ, subæquales et subsimiles, patentes. *Stamina* 6, æqualia, filamentis æquilonga: antheræ filamentis breviores. *Spicæ femineæ* axillares, solitariae, simplices, ad 12 cm. longæ, dependentes; flores ad 10–12, sessiles, deorsum spectantes, circiter 1 cm. remoti: bracteæ et bracteolæ adsunt. *Capsulæ* sessiles, assurgentes: alæ maturæ pergamentacæ, irregulariter subquadratæ, 2 cm. longæ, 1 cm. latæ, stramineo-corneæ, livido suffusæ, glaucescentes, majores ad 2.75 cm. longæ, ad 1.6 cm. latæ. *Semina* in loculo quoque gemina, complanata, subquadrata, .85 cm. diam., ala membranacea alba inæqualiter circumcincta.—*Dioscorea deltoidea*, Hook. f., Fl. Brit. Ind. VI., (1892), 291, partim.

EASTERN HIMALAYA. Sikkim: without precise locality, 1000–5000, feet, *J. D. Hooker*, No. 7, Herb. Ind. Or.; Herb. *Griffith*, 5555; Great Rungeet, 1800–2500 feet, *T. Anderson*; Rungeet Valley, *Kurz*; Rungeet, *C. B. Clarke*, 8936; Rungneet Valley, 4000 feet, *Gamble*, 9764; Dikiling, 2000 feet, *C. B. Clarke*, 9682; Naksabari, *Gamble*, 322 D; Tukwar, 3000 feet, *Gamble*, 9799; Pashok, 7000 feet, *Lister*; Mungpoo, *Hartless*, *Gammie*, *Dungboo*, 2000 feet and 3500 feet, *King*; also 600–3000 feet, *King*; Restrop, *Prain's Collector*; Silake, *Prain*; Nagree, 3000 feet, *T. Anderson*; between Richi and Rinchingpong, 2000–2500 feet, *T. Anderson*. Western Duars: *Haines*, 4187. Nepal: *Scully*, 34.

*Dioscorea sikkimensis* is the Kencheong or Kûkur Turul of Sikkim. It was included in *D. deltoidea* in the Flora of British India by Sir Joseph Hooker. It is indeed closely allied to that species: but it differs markedly in the absence of the short crisp simple hairs that are so abundant on the veins and nerves of the under surface of the leaf of *D. deltoidea*. There are besides other differences: the rhachis of the inflorescence in both sexes of *D. sikkimensis* is distinctly angled, while that of *D. deltoidea* in the male is terete and in the female only slightly angled: the fruit is also slightly different in shape; it is sessile and destitute of purple lines or dots in *D. sikkimensis*, while that of *D. deltoidea* is distinctly pedicelled. It is to be noted that both *D. deltoidea* and *D. sikkimensis* occur in Central Nepal, which is the eastern limit of the one and the western limit of the other.

More closely allied to *D. sikkimensis* than *D. deltoidea*, is *D. Praxeri*. The chief differences between the two are (i) in the male flowers, which in *D. Praxeri* are sessile and in *D. sikkimensis* are distinctly pedicelled, (ii) in the seeds, which are of a different colour and shape, and (iii) in the foliage which is chiefly composed of wide cordate leaves in the Burmese plant, though there are leaves on the ultimate branches which are longer than broad as is the usual condition in the Sikkim plant. In *D. sikkimensis* such leaves as there may be, which are as long as they are broad, are confined to the lower part of the main stem. The male plant of *D. Praxeri* is often bulbiferous: this is a rare condition in *D. sikkimensis*. The bulbils of both





when present are smooth with a silvery skin: the specimen of *D. Praseri* collected by one of us at Momonk, east of Bhamo, close to the Chinese frontier, had such silvery bulbils, slightly verrucose, and Haines notes on the ticket of his Duars specimen that it bore bulbils with a silvery smooth skin.

We have had the two species in cultivation, side by side, at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpar, where they flowered simultaneously, but at the end of September the leaves of *D. Praseri* were in full defoliation, while *D. sikkimensis* was still in vigorous growth.

**DIOSCOREA DELTOIDEA**, Wall. *Rhizoma* crassum, aliquanto informe, parum hypogæum, venenosum, carne albido. *Caulis* glaber, sinistrorsum volubilis, teretiusculus, inermis, viridis. *Folia* alterna, chartacea, supra glaberrima, subtus ad nervos et nervulos pilis minutis simplicibus hirtella, pellucide lineolata, basis sinu lato vel latissimo, subdeltoideo-cordato-ovata, acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, margine sæpissime plus minus undulata necnon aliquomodo ad medium constricta, 7-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, vel 9-nervia, nervulis secundariis reticulatis utrinque distinctis, ad 12 cm. longa, ad 10 cm. lata: petiolus glaber, sulcatus, tenuis, 4-12 cm. longus. *Spicæ masculæ* simplices vel (inferiores) compositæ, axillares; flores glomerati, 2-3-ni, sessiles, in rhachi angulata glomerulis 5-1 cm. distantibus sparsim dispositi: pedunculus glaber, simplex ad 15 cm. longus vel maximus ad 30 cm.: bracteæ lanceolatæ, ad 2 mm. longæ: bracteolæ ovato-acuminatæ, naviculari-concavæ, glabræ, floribus dimidio breviores. *Perianthii masculi* laciniæ ovatæ, obtusæ, subæquales, patentes. *Stamina* 6, æqualia, filamentis æquilonga; antheræ filamentis multo breviores. *Spicæ femineæ* axillares, solitariae, simplices, 8-15 cm. vel rarissime ad 25 cm. usque longæ, dependentes: flores 4-12, breviter pedicellati, deorsum spectantes, circiter 1 cm. remoti: bracteæ et bracteolæ adsunt. *Capsulæ* breviter pedicellatæ, assurgentes: alæ maturæ pergamentaceæ, vertice versus subquadratæ, basin versus rotundatæ, stramineo-corneæ, punctulis lineolisque purpureis horizontaliter notatæ, ad 3 cm. longæ, 1.6 cm. latæ. *Semina* in quoque loculo gemina, latissima, complanata, 11 mm. longa, 15-18 mm. lata, ala membranacea loculam fere implente inæqualiter circumcincta,—*Dioscorea deltoidea*, Wall. Cat. (1832), 5100; Stewart in Journ. Agric. and Hort. Soc. Ind. XIV., (1867), p. 37; Kunth, Enum. V., (1850), 340; Hook. f., Flor. Brit. Ind. VI., (1892), 291 pro parte; Duthie in Records Bot. Survey Ind. I., (1898), 173; Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, (1895), p. 75; Griseb. in Mart., Flor. Brasil., III., (1842), i. 43, quoad Wall. Cat., 5100, sed ref. ad Rumph. Hort. Amb., V., t. 180 exclus.

**NORTH-WEST HIMALAYA.** Without locality, *Stoliczka*: Herb. Falconer, 1116. Chitral: Ziarat, 7200 feet, *Harriss*, 16683, 16684. Dir:



Mirga, 7200 feet, *Gatacre*, 17567, 17568. Hazara district: without precise locality, but abundant in many places, 3000–6000 feet, *Stewart*; hill between Mahowa and Bojdarrah, *Stewart* in litt, l. c.; Khagan, Valley, 4800 feet, *Inayat*, 20205, 20205a, *Stewart*, 603½. Kashmir: near Muliya, *Winterbottom*, 336; Baramula, *Winterbottom*, 335; above Shapiyon, 7000 feet, *C. B. Clarke*, 28566. Chamba: between Tisa Nala and Bara, 6000 feet, *Lace*, 1381; Pangi, on the Chenab, *Brandis*, 3362; Kulal Forest in Pangi, 8000 feet, *Lace*, 1669. Kulu: Phulga, *Watt*, 13473. Simla: Gowai, 6000 feet, *Gamble*, 5140; Narkanda *Brandis*; Chur, 8000 feet, *J. R. Drummond*; Jubal, 5000–7000 feet, *Edgeworth*. Bhaji Forest, *Kalka Pershad* in herb. R. E. P. 19065. Bashahr: Dippi, 7000 feet, *Brandis*, 3361. Jaunsar: Konam, 7000 feet, *Webb*, 153. Dehra Dhun: Mussoori, *Brandis*, 1477, *King*; Mussoori Range, *King*. Tehri-Garhwal: Ganges valley near Jhala, 8000–9000 feet, *Duthie*. British Garhwal: *King*. Kumaon: Kuntagong, 5000–8000 feet, *T. Thomson*; near Kathe, 7500 feet, and Valley of Sarju at 3500 feet, *Strachey and Winterbottom*, 1; Sujahce Deves, Painath Village, Barchoola Ridge, *Strachey and Winterbottom* 68; near Kupkot, 3500 feet, *Strachey and Winterbottom*, 570. Nepal: Sankas, *Wallich*, 5110.

*Dioscorea deltoidea* may flower very much earlier than its allies; it was collected in young fruit in the Bhaji Forests in the end of May.

Although in no places eaten as food, it is not without its uses. Sir George Watt notes on the ticket of his specimen "Roots used for washing clothes, especially wool; vern. name "Shingli": and Sir Walter Lawrence in his Valley of Kashmir, p. 75, calls it Krits, and says that the root is used as a diuretic in doses of 1 dram, and that in large doses it is a poison. E. T. Atkinson in the Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, X., (1882), p. 703, names a plant as *D. deltoidea*, and calls it "Gun" in the vernacular: doubtless he means *D. deltoidea*. Stewart in his Panjab Plants, (1869), p. 128, under *D. deltoidea*, gives a number of vernacular names many of which seem to belong to another widely distinct species of *Dioscorea*.

**DIOSCOREA PANTHAICA.** *Radix* ignota. *Caules* glabri, sinistrorsum volubiles, teretiusculi, ad basin petioli spinis flaccidis stipulinis obsiti, purpurei. *Folia* alterna, chartacea, supra glaberrima, subtus ad nervos et nervulos papillis minutissimis simplicibus densius hirtella, pellucide punctata, subdeltoideo-ovato-cordata, acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, basis sinu latissimo, margine plus minus undulata, 7-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, vel 9-nervia, nervulis secundariis reticulatis parum distinctis, 8.5 cm. longa, 6 cm. lata: petiolus glaber, sulcatus, tenuis, 5 cm. longus. *Spicæ* masculæ simplices, in paniculas axillares dispositæ; flores 2-ni in glomerulis sessilibus 4–6 mm. remotis in rhachi nonnunquam minopere angulata





ad angulas nonnunquam papilloso-lineolata dispositi: panicula 12 cm. longa: spicarum rhachides 4.5 cm. longæ: pedunculus paniculæ 3 cm. longus: bracteæ lanceolatæ, ad 1.5 mm. longæ: bracteolæ ovato-acuminatæ, naviculari-concavæ, glabræ, floribus breviores. *Perianthii masculi* lacinis ovato-oblongæ, obtusæ, subæquales et subsimiles patentes. *Stamina* 6, æqualia, antheræ filamentis multo breviores. *Planta feminea* ignota.

SOUTH-WEST CHINA. Yunnan: Mengtse, northern mountains, at 7000 feet, A. Henry, 11065.

This species seems to be most nearly allied to *D. deltoidea*."

*DIOSCOREA ACERIFOLIA*, Uline ex Diels. *Radix* ignota. *Caules* glabri, sinistrorsum volubiles, teretes, inermes, nigro-purpurei. *Folia* alterna chartacea, supra glaberrima, subtus ad nervos et nervulos pilis minutis nunc sparsim nunc densius hirtella, pellucide lineolata, cordato-acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, basis sinu latissimo, margine undulata vel sæpius palmatim sinuata vel lobata, lobis obtusis vel nonnunquam acutis, 9- vel 11-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis vel trifidis, nervulis secundariis reticulatis subtus distinctis, 10-18 cm. longa, 10-12 cm. lata: petiolus apicem versus hirtellus, cæterum glaber, crassior, supra canaliculatus, 10-12 cm. longus. *Spicæ masculæ* simplices vel parum ramosæ, sæpius solitariae, nonnunquam binæ, axillares, 20-25 cm. longæ: flores in cymulas in rhachi puberula 5-7 mm. remotas dispositi: pedunculus puberulus, 4.5-5 cm. longus: bracteæ lanceolatæ, ad 2 mm. longæ: bracteolæ ovatæ, acuminatæ, glabræ, floribus breviores. *Perianthii masculi* lacinis ovato-oblongæ, obtusæ, subæquales, patentes. *Stamina* 6, æqualia; antheræ filamentis paullo breviores. *Spicæ femineæ* axillares, solitariae, simplices, 16-20 cm. longæ, dependentes; flores 30-40, sessiles, deorsum spectantes, circa .75 cm. remoti: bracteæ et bracteolæ adsunt. *Capsulæ* sessiles, assurgentes: alæ maturæ pergamentacæ, basin versus rotundatæ, apice parum retusæ, stramineæ, purpureo notatæ, 2 cm. longæ, 8 cm. latæ. *Semina* in loculo quoque gemina, obovata, complanata, ala membranacea alba irregulariter circumcincta. *Dioscorea acerifolia*, Uline ex Diels in Engl. Bot. Jahrb. XXIX., (1900), 261. *D. quinqueloba*, C. H. Wright, in Journ. Linn. Soc. Bot. XXXI, (1903), 92 (syn. excl.).

CENTRAL CHINA. Hupeh: without precise locality, A. Henry, 150-Chiensih, A. Henry, 5870; Patung, A. Henry, 7358.

Wright, uniting *D. acerifolia* and *D. quinqueloba*, adds to the above localities some in northern China: we are unable to state to which of the two species these northern specimens belong. Diels adds to Dr. Henry's localities in Central China





"Nanshan, Rosthorn, 2128": and he further describes a variety, naming it var. *Rosthornii*, also from Nanshan, in the following words:—"foliis amplis acutissime acuminatis subtus ad nervos albo-setulosis ideoque cinerascentibus."

*DIOSCOREA SEPTEMLOBA*, Thunb. *Radix* ignota. *Caules* glabri, sinistrorsum volubiles, teretes, inermes, virides. *Folia* alterna, tenuiter chartacea, supra glaberrima, subtus ad nervulos minute papillosa, opaca nec pellucide lineolata, ex siccitate brunnea, cordata, acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, basis sinu lato, margine septemloba lobis basalibus obtusis sed cæteris subacutis vel acutis, 7-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, nervulis secundariis reticulatis subtus distinctis sursum obscuris, 10 cm. longa, 12 cm. lata. *Spicæ masculæ* ignotæ. *Spicæ feminæ* axillares, solitariae, simplices, 8-10 cm. longæ, dependentes; flores 10-12, sessiles, circiter 1 cm. remoti: bracteæ fructu maturo late ovatae: bracteolæ ovatae, acuminatae. *Capsulæ* sessiles, assurgentes, colore cupræ: alæ maturæ pergamentaceæ, basin versus attenuatae, apice rotundato-truncatae, 2 cm. longæ, 1.2 cm. latæ, castaneæ. *Semina* in quoque loculo gemina, obovata, complanata, ala membranacea alba inæqualiter circumcincta. *Dioscorea septemloba*, Thunb., Fl. Jap., (1784), 149. *D. quinqueloba*, Franchet et Savatier, Enum. Flor. Jap., II., (1879), 46.

CENTRAL JAPAN. Island of Nippon: Joshu (Hitachi); Yubiso, Makino.

Makino gives the Japanese name as Momiji-dokoro on the label of a herbarium specimen kindly sent to us from the Hongkong Herbarium by Mr. S. T. Dunn.

*DIOSCOREA NIPPONICA*, Makino. *Radix* ignota. *Caules* glabri, sinistrorsum volubiles, teretes, inermes, virides. *Folia* alterna, chartacea, supra glaberrima, subtus ad nervos et nervulos pilis albis simplicibus hirtella, opaca nec pellucide lineolata, subdeltoideo-cordato-ovata, acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, basis sinu lato, margine undulata vel parum 5-7-lobata, lobis rarissime subacutis, 7-9-nervia, nervis extimis bifidis, nervulis secundariis supra obscuris subtus subdistinctis, 7-10 cm. longa, 5-10 cm. lata: petiolus apicem versus hirtellus, cæterum glaber, gracilis, supra canaliculatus, 4-8 cm. longus. *Spicæ masculæ* ignotæ. *Spicæ feminæ* axillares, simplices, singulæ, 15-25 cm. longæ, dependentes: flores 25-30, sessiles, deorsum spectantes, 5-8 mm. remoti: bracteæ lineari-lanceolatae, acutissimæ: bracteolæ similes, minores. *Capsulæ* sessiles, assurgentes, stramineæ, purpureo-punctatae: alæ maturæ semiovatae, apice retusæ, basin versus attenuatae vel rotundatae, stramineæ, 2 cm. longæ, 6-7 cm. latæ. *Semina* in quoque loculo gemina, ovata, complanata, ala membranacea alba inæqualiter circumcincta.





*Dioscorea nipponica* Makino, Illustr. Flor. Jap., I., (? 1891) No. 1 (not seen).

CENTRAL JAPAN. Island of Nippon: Joshu (Hitachi); Schimizutoge, Makino.

Makino gives the Japanese name as Uchiwa dokoro on the label of a herbarium specimen kindly sent to us by Mr. S. T. Dunn from the Hongkong Herbarium. Besides this specimen we have seen a coloured drawing of the fruit made by Mr. Makino.

*DIOSCOREA QUINQUELOBA*, Thunb. *Radix ignota*. *Caules* glabri, sinis; trorsum volubiles, teretes, inermes, virides. *Folia* alterna, tenuiter chartacea, supra glaberrima, subtus nonnunquam ad nervos et nervulos pilis minutis simplicibus hirtella, pellucido lineolata, cordata, acuminata, apice minutissime mucronulata, basis sinu lato, infima septem—, raro novem—, loba, media quinqueloba, superiora triloba vel sinuata, 7-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, nervulis secundariis reticulatis utrinque distinctis, 6–8 cm. longa, 5–10 cm. lata: petiolus glaber, canaliculatus, 3–7 cm. longus. *Spicæ* masculæ simplices vel ramosæ, solitariae vel binæ, axillares, 4–6 cm. longæ pedunculo 5–10 cm. longo incluso: flores pedicellati, in cymulis 3–4 cm. remotis dispositi: rhachis pedunculusque glabri: bracteæ lanceolatae, 1.5 mm. longæ: bracteolæ ovatae, acutæ, glabræ, floribus breviores. *Perianthii* masculi lacinia ovata, obtusæ, subæquales, patentes. *Stamina* 6, æqualia: antheræ filamentis multo longiores. *Spicæ* femineæ axillares, solitariae vel geminae, simplices, 10–12 cm. longæ, dependentes; flores 10–12, breviter pedicellati, deorsum spectantes, circa .75 cm. remoti: bracteæ et bracteolæ adsunt. *Capsulæ* assurgentes: alæ maturæ pergamentaceæ, basin versus rotundatæ, apice truncatæ, 1.75 cm. longæ, .7 cm. latæ, stramineæ. *Semina* in quoque loculo gemina, latissima, complanata, ala membranacea alba inæqualiter circumcincta.—*Dioscorea quinqueloba*, Thunb. Flor. Jap., (1784), 150; Kämpfer, Ic. Sel., (1791), t. 15 (a satisfactory picture) Somoku Dusets, 2nd. ed., XX., t. 54.

SOUTHERN JAPAN. Island of Kiusiu, Nagasaki, Buerger, Oldham 890, Maximowicz.

The Japanese name as given in the Somoku Dusets is Kikuba Dokoro.

*DIOSCOREA TENUIPES*, Franchet et Savatier. *Radix* nobis ignota, teste Franchetio Savatieroque tuberosa et depressoglobosa. *Caules* glabri, sinistrorsum volubiles, teretiusculi, juniores minopere angulati, inermes, virides. *Folia* alterna, membranacea, glaberrima, nitentia, margine interdum undulationibus minutis notata, cordato-ovato-acuminata



vel subdeltoideo-cordata-ovato-acuminato, apice mucronulata, basis sinu lato, aliquomodo ad medium constricta, 7-9-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, nervulis secundariis reticulatis utrinque distinctis, ad 9-10 cm. longa, 6-10 cm. lata: petiolus glaber, supra parum canaliculatus, 6 cm. longus. *Racemi masculi* simplices, solitarii vel 2-4-ni, 10 cm. longi; flores longius pedicellati, glomerati, 2-5-ni (glomerulis 75 cm. remotis) sparsim dispositi: pedicelli 3-5 mm. longi (teste Franchetio Savatieroque 5-8 mm. longi). Pedunculus glaber, ad 3 cm. longus; bractea ovato-lanceolata, ad 2 mm. longae; bracteolae suborbiculatae, glabrae, pedicellis multo breviores. *Perianthii masculi* laciniae lanceolatae, obtusiusculae, refractae, subaequales. *Stamina* 6, aequalia, perianthio distincte breviora: antherae didymae. *Spicae femineae* axillares, simplices, solitariae, usque ad 12-15 cm. longae, dependentes; flores ad 25, solitarii vel cymulosim bini (alter major alter minor) in ramulis perbrevibus 5-7 mm. distantibus dispositi, deorsum spectantes: rhachis distincte trigona, aliquomodo zigzag. *Perianthii masculi* laciniae iis floris masculi similes: bractea et bracteolae adsunt. *Capsulae* assurgentes, latiores quam longae, basi et apice emarginatae (teste Franchetio Savatieroque). *Semina* (teste Maximowicz) circumcirca alata.—*Dioscorea tenuipes*, Franchet et Savatier, Enum. Flor. Jap., II., 525. *Dioscorea sativa*, Miq., Prolusio Flor. Jap., (1867), 323, quoad plantam masculam.

SOUTHERN JAPAN. Island of Kiusiu: Nagasaki, Maximowicz. Island of Shikoku: Tosa; Nanokawa, Makino.

**DIOSCOREA YOKUSAI.** *Radix* ignota. *Caules* glabri, sinistrorsum volubiles, minopere angulati, inermes, virides. *Folia* alterna, membranacea, glaberrima, nitentia, cordato-acuta vel breviter acuminata, apice mucronulata, sinu basis latissimo, margine integra vel plus minus undulata, nonnunquam ad medium constricta, 7-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, nervulis secundariis reticulatis subtus distinctis, 5 cm. longa, 5 cm. lata: petiolus glaber, gracilis, supra profunde canaliculatus, 3-5 cm. longus. *Inflorescentia mascula* per rhachin angulatam ad 7 cm. longam cymulas 3-5-floras 5-10 mm. remotas gerens: flores distincte pedicellati, pedicellis 2-3 mm. longis: pedunculus glaber, angulatus, 2-3 cm. longus: bractea ovato-lanceolata, acutae vel acuminatae, ad 2 mm. longae: bracteolae ovatae, acutae, pedicellis multo breviores. *Perianthii masculi* laciniae biseriatae, exteriores ovato-lanceolatae subacutae, interiores obovatae obtusae vel truncatae, patentes. *Stamina* 6, aequalia, perianthio distincte breviora: antherae didymae. *Spicae femineae* axillares, simplices, solitariae, usque ad 8 cm. longae, dependentes; flores





solitarii sessiles, 5–7 mm. distantes, deorsum spectantes: rhachis distincte trigona, aliquomodo zigzag: bractem et bracteolæ adsunt. *Perianthii feminei* laciniae lanceolatæ, subacutæ, subæquales. *Capsulæ* assurgentes, æquilongæ et latæ, maturæ non visæ.

JAPAN. Without precise locality, *Buerger* (mixed with *Dioscorea Batatas* and issued by Miquel as *D. japonica*).

This species is most nearly allied to *D. tenuipes* with which it agrees in the didymous stamens and in the distinctly pedicelled male flowers: but from which it differs markedly in the biseriate perianth, the lobes of which are not refracted, in the rather shorter and stouter pedicels, the thicker and larger perianth-lobes and in the distinctly cymulose (not glomerate) clusters of flowers. The fruits, which we have not seen ripe, when young closely resemble those of *D. tenuipes*. We suspect that this may prove to be the plant for which Uline has proposed the name *D. Buergeri* (teste Diels in Engl. Bot. Jahrb., XXIX., 260), but we have not seen specimens which could corroborate the idea. We have therefore been compelled to find a new name for it, and have thought well to connect the name of the author of the *Somoku Dusets* with it.

**DIOSCOREA ENNEANEURA.** *Radix* ignota. *Caules* glabri, sinistrorsum volubiles, minopere angulati, inermes, virides. *Folia* alterna, membranacea, supra glaberrima subnitentia, subtus nervis et præcipue nervulis secundariis minute rugoso-cristatis, cordata, breviter acuminata, apice mucronulata, basis sinu obtuso, margine integra, 9-nervia, nervis extimis profunde bifidis, nervulis secundariis distinctis subtus prominulis, 6 cm. longa, 5 cm. dimidio lata: petiolus glaber, gracilis supra canaliculatus, 3.5 cm. longus. *Racemi masculi* simplices, axillares, solitarii; flores solitarii vel bini, distincte pedicellati, sparsim 3–4 mm. remoti, pedicellis 2 mm. longis: pedunculus glaber, 5 mm. longus: rhachis ad 4 vel 5 cm. longus: bracteæ ovato-lanceolatæ, ad 2 mm. longæ: bracteolæ subsimiles, pedicellis dimidio breviores. *Perianthii masculi* laciniae ovato-lanceolatæ, biseriatæ, exteriores acutæ ad medium incrassatæ, interiores obtusæ vel truncatæ fere ad apicem incrassatæ, patentés. *Stamina* 6, æqualia, perianthio distincte breviora: antheræ didymæ. *Planta feminea* ignota.—*Dioscorea Buergeri*, var., enneaneura, Uline ex Diels in Engl. Bot. Jahrb., XXIX., (1900), 260, nomen tantum.

CENTRAL CHINA.—Hupeh. A. Henry, 3641 A.

This species is most nearly related to the plant here described as *D. Fokusa*. It differs very markedly in the much smaller flowers which are solitary or geminate and not cymulose on the rhachis.



*Contributions to Oriental Herpetology I.—The Lizards of the Andamans, with the Description of a new Gecko and a note on the Reproduced Tail in Ptychozoon homalocephalum.*—By NELSON ANNANDALE, B.A., Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Museum.

In a recent paper on the distribution of the Indian vertebrates Blanford (1) says regarding the Andamans and Nicobars, "These islands are included because they are under the Government of British India, but they are of small importance zoologically." A collection of lizards from Narcondam, lately presented to the Indian Museum by Major A. R. Anderson, I.M.S., has led me to doubt whether this summary dismissal by so catholic and liberal an authority does not perhaps unduly minimize the zoological importance of the Andamans, however true it may be of the Nicobars, the faunistic separation of which from the neighbouring archipelago he fully recognizes. The Indian Museum is rich in material for a study of the Andaman fauna, and it has seemed worth while to undertake an analysis of this one sub-order, even though I have few facts that are absolutely new to put on record and only one new form to describe.

The following list, probably still far from complete, embodies what I have been able to discover as to the species of lizards known from the Andamans or represented in our collection. I understand that Major Anderson is about to publish an account of the fauna of these islands and am much indebted to his generosity in permitting me to make use not only of his collection but also of his observations on the distribution of *Calotes versicolor* in the archipelago. Those species in the list which are also known from the Nicobars have their names distinguished by a star.

#### LIZARDS KNOWN FROM THE ANDAMANS.

##### GECKONIDÆ.

*Gymnodactylus rubidus* (Blyth); *Gonatodes andersonii* nov.; *Hemidactylus frenatus*\* (Schleg.); *Gehyra mutilata*\* (Wiegman); *Lepidodactylus lugubris* (D. & B.); *Gecko verticillatus* Laur.; *Gecko stentor*\* (Cant.); *Ptychozoon homalocephalum*<sup>1</sup> \* (Crev.) ?; *Phelsuma andamanense*, Blyth.

<sup>1</sup> I am not altogether satisfied with the evidence on which this species is included. A specimen which I thought to be from the Andamans (*Ann. Mag. N. H.* (vii) xv, 1905, p. 31) appears to have been labelled wrongly. (But see Theobald, *Cat. Rept. Brit. Ind.*, p. 73.)





AGAMIDÆ.

*Gonyocephalus subcristatus*\* (Blyth) ; *Ocalotes versicolor* (Daud.) ; *O. andamanensis*, Blgr.<sup>1</sup> ; *O. mystaceus*,\* D. & B.

VARANIDÆ.

*Varanus salvator*\* (Luar.)

SCINCIDÆ.

*Mabuia multifasciata*\* (Kuhl) ; *M. tytlteri*, Blgr. ; *Lygosoma maculatum* (Blyth) ; *L. olivaceum*\* (Gray) ; *L. macrotympanum* (Stol.).

The Museum possesses a number of specimens of a Skink the exact position of which I am not yet prepared to state. They are closely allied to, if not identical with, *L. maculatum* (Blyth), but differ from the descriptions of this species in proportions. Possibly they may be new ; but as I have not yet worked through the Skinks in the Museum collection, I prefer not to express an opinion at present. The specimens were collected by Major Anderson on Narcondam.

ANALYSIS OF THE LACERTILIAN FAUNA OF THE ANDAMANS.

*Gymnodactylus rubidus* is a form peculiar to the Andamans. It has close allies in *G. marmoratus* of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra (possibly occurring also in Tenasserim) and *G. khasiensis* of Assam. *Gonatodes andersonii* is closely related to *G. kandianus* of Ceylon, South India, Preparis Island (which lies between the Andamans and the coast of Burma to the north) and Engano,\* an island off south-west Sumatra. Its exact relationship to this form is discussed below. Although it is difficult to split up the genus *Gonatodes* into definite sections, *G. kandianus* and *G. andersonii* may be said to belong to its Malabar, as distinct from its Malayan, division. In South India and Ceylon there are a number of species which have their headquarters within the Malabar Province of recent zoologists (chiefly on the hills of the east coast on the mainland) but extend into places not included therein. In the Malay Peninsula two species, *G. affinis* and *G. kendallii*, occur, the former of which possibly extends northwards into Tenasserim. On the whole they are distinguished from the Malabar species by their larger size, more brilliant coloration (in some cases), the greater degree of specialisation of their dorsal scales (in some cases), and above all by the absence of femoral or præanal pores in the male. The genus extends eastwards into the Malay Archipelago, is represented by a number of species in Tropical America, and by at least one in East Africa.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Mag. N. H.* (vi.) viii., 1891, pp. 288, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Boulenger, *Ann. Mag. N. H.* (6) xvi., 1895, p. 173 ; and Tornier, *Zool. Jahrb. Syst.* xiii., 1900, p. 584.



*Gehyra mutilata*, *Hemidactylus frenatus* and *Gecko verticillatus* are house-lizards and have a wide adventitious range on coasts and islands, being easily carried with merchandize or personal baggage. On the mainland of Asia their range extends northwards and westwards from the Malay Archipelago, through Malaya and Burma, to the north-eastern districts of India proper. This range they share with many other animals. Of the three, *G. verticillatus* (which is only a house-lizard in some districts) is most restricted. Probably it does not occur in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, though abundant (not as a house-lizard) in the northern, and the few specimens taken in Singapore would seem to have been introduced from Bangkok (where it occurs in almost every inhabited building) or Java. *Gecko stentor*, on the other hand, is usually a jungle species; in the dense woods of northern Malaya its peculiar cry is heard perpetually, though the lizard is seen but seldom. In Selangor and elsewhere, however, it has been known to take up its abode in houses. Its retiring habits render it somewhat rare in collections, and it is not known to occur west of Chittagong. *Lepidodactylus lugubris*, regarding the habits of which little or nothing is known<sup>1</sup>, has a very wide insular distribution in the Indian and Pacific Oceans and occurs sparingly in Malaya and Burma.

*Phelsuma andamanense* is probably the most interesting of the Andaman lizards. Its allies are found not in the Malayan islands or on the mainland of Asia, nor even on the mainland of Africa, but in Mauritius, the Seyschelles, Réunion and Madagascar. The number of cases in which the names of authors of species are enclosed in brackets in the tables which accompany this paper shows how little reliance can often be placed on the generic distinctions of herpetologists; but *Phelsuma* would appear to be a natural genus, in which the species are closely related. It would not be difficult to confuse an example of the Andaman species in which the colours had faded with one of *P. cepedianum* from Mauritius, though the specific differences are much greater than those between *Gymnodactylus rubidus*<sup>2</sup> and *G. marmoratus*.<sup>2</sup>

Both *P. andamanense* and *G. rubidus* (also *G. marmoratus*) are arboreal. Probably they never enter houses.

In considering the fauna of any tropical district the Geckos have a peculiar interest. Their structure (especially that of the vertebral column, on which great stress must be laid) proves them extremely ancient, and their genera (except in a few cases, such as the *marmoratus* section of *Gymnodactylus* and the Malabar division of *Gonatodes*) lack the plasticity of some families. I have compiled lists

<sup>1</sup> That is in Asia. Schneer has a note on its habits in the Pacific (*Z. Natur. Stuttgart*, 1901) which I have not seen.

<sup>2</sup> These two forms were once placed in separate genera.



of the Geckos of Burma and Sumatra for comparison with that of the Andaman representatives of the family. Boulenger (3), as recently as last year, has published a list of the reptiles of the Malay Peninsula, and I need only say here that the Geckos, with a few exceptions, are the same as those of Burma. For information regarding the Sumatran species I am indebted chiefly to Werner's (5) recent memoir, and regarding the Burmese to Boulenger's volume (2) in the "Fauna of India" series and the same author's account (4) of Fea's collection, now in the Genoa Museum. Two species included have been described by myself (6) quite recently.

# GECKOS OF BURMA AND SUMATRA.

| Name of Species.                                        | Burma.          | Sumatra.          |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1 <i>Gymnodactylus pulchellus</i> <sup>1</sup> (Gray) § | × (Lower Burma) | —                 |
| 2 " <i>variegatus</i> (Blyth)                           | × (Lower Burma) | —                 |
| 3 " <i>peguensis</i> , Blgr. §                          | × (Lower Burma) | —                 |
| 4 " <i>fea</i> , Blgr.                                  | × (Lower Burma) | ? (Sinkip Island) |
| 5 " <i>lateralis</i> , Wern.                            | —               | ×                 |
| 6 " <i>marmoratus</i> (Kuhl) §                          | —               | ×                 |
| 7 <i>Gonatodes kandianus</i> , (Kelaart.)               | ? (Preparis)    | ? (Engano)        |
| 8 <i>Phyllodactylus burmanicus</i> , Annand.            | × (Lower Burma) | —                 |
| 9 <i>Hemidactylus frenatus</i> * (Schleg) §             | ×               | ×                 |
| 10 " <i>brookii</i> , Gray §                            | ×               | —                 |
| 11 " <i>subtrianguloides</i> , Annand.                  | × (Upper Burma) | —                 |
| 12 " <i>leschenaultii</i> , D. & B. §                   | ?               | —                 |
| 13 " <i>flaviviridis</i> , Rupp. §                      | ×               | —                 |
| 14 " <i>boweringii</i> (Gray)                           | ×               | —                 |
| 15 " <i>garnotii</i> , D. & B. §                        | ×               | ×                 |
| 16 " <i>platyurus</i> (Schneid.) §                      | ×               | —                 |
| 17 <i>Gehyra mutilata</i> * (Wiegman) §                 | ×               | —                 |
| 18 <i>Spathoscaphobates mutilatus</i> , D. & B.         | —               | ×                 |
| 19 <i>Lepidodactylus lugubris</i> * (D. & B.) §         | ×               | —                 |
| 20 " <i>ceylonensis</i> , Blgr. §                       | ×               | ? (Engano)        |
| 21 <i>Gecko verticillatus</i> Laur. * §                 | ×               | ×                 |
| 22 " <i>stentor</i> (Cant) * §                          | ×               | ×                 |
| 23 " <i>monarchus</i> , Schleg. §                       | —               | ×                 |
| 24 <i>Ptychozoon homalocephalum</i> * (Crev.) §         | × (Lower Burma) | ×                 |

In the above list a × denotes the occurrence of a species, a — that it has not been recorded. The names of those species known from the Andamans are distinguished by a \*, of those known from the Malay Peninsula by a §. The Geckos of Sumatra are still very imperfectly known, while the discovery of fresh species both in Upper and Lower Burma is probable.

Of the Geckos common to the Andamans and Burma or Sumatra all but *Ptychozoon homalocephalum*, *Gecko stentor* (which is sometimes found in houses) and *Lepidodactylus lugubris* (whose insular distribution

<sup>1</sup> We have in the Museum specimen from Lower Burma of an allied species not yet described.



would suggest that it too may be carried from island to island) are house-lizards, and as such of no importance in considering questions of geographical distribution. They may very well have been introduced in the nineteenth century. As regards *P. homalocephalum*, a curious fact in its life history may have had an influence on its dispersal; I mean the long period spent in the egg. An observation by F. H. Bauer (quoted by Gadow in *Amphibia and Reptiles*, p. 512) shows that this period may last for five months, and from eggs which I have examined in the Malay Peninsula I am prepared to conclude that this case was normal. It is obvious that an egg with a hard shell, to some extent impermeable to liquids, can endure conditions which would be fatal to a delicate young lizard. Boats have been carried out from the coast of Malaya to the Andamans in very much less than five weeks, and logs of wood must frequently come by the same route. *P. homalocephalum* lays but two eggs at a time; they adhere to leaves and tree-trunks. It is essentially a jungle species, but Flower has taken a specimen of the closely allied *P. horsfieldii* on a wooden post in the Botanical Gardens at Penang (*P. Z. S.* 1896, p. 868), showing that it may desert the jungle occasionally for human erections in the immediate neighbourhood.

Thus, of the nine Geckos recorded from the Andamans, the presence of five, possibly six, can be accounted for without assuming that they have been in the islands for any long period. The remaining three are peculiar to the archipelago (including Narcondam). None of these have been recorded from the Nicobars; but one is closely related to forms on the nearest mainland, a second has Malabar affinities, while the third exhibits a Madagascan facies.

As regards *Gonatodes andersonii*, any argument derived from its relationship to *G. kandianus* has its weak point; for *G. kandianus* is, at any rate in some places, a house-lizard<sup>1</sup>, and though it probably originated in the mountains of Ceylon or S. India, it occurs also in the plains; it may therefore, have been introduced by man into the Andamans. In any case it must be regarded as the ancestor of *G. andersonii*, which is merely an offshoot from it: whether we look upon the two forms as specifically distinct depends entirely on the answer we are prepared to give to the question, "What is a species?" I have given the Andaman form a name because it is convenient that things should have names, and because the lizard can be distinguished by characters which appear to be constant; but I should doubt whether it is a "physiological" species. Poulton (7) in one of the latest general contributions to the subject of specific characters, regards it as impossible, from a scientific

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that the distribution of this species is much wider than that of its allies.





standpoint, to determine a species from a mere examination of specimens. Undoubtedly he is right. Without a study of bionomics it would be impossible to group together the seasonal forms of certain butterflies he instances, or to draw the line between closely related local races of many animals. But in a museum—and too often the naturalist exists for the museum, not the museum for the naturalist—any system of arrangement is impossible, unless names are given to specimens. Anyone who would have the courage, the skill, and the patience (and would live long enough), to classify the whole animal kingdom according to some system of numbers and letters, which could be recorded as in a library catalogue, would confer an enormous boon on scientific zoology. The tendency at present among systematists is to search for differences rather than relationships, and very little is being done in tropical countries to find out what these differences mean. No investigations are being made, so far as I know, to discover whether the members of the fauna of any given island or group of islands of limited extent are undergoing modification in any one direction. That this is probably the case even in Northern Europe is shown in a recent paper by Eagle Clarke (8), who points out that in the Faroes animals as distinct from one another as the wren, the starling and the house mouse (*Mus. musculus*) have all developed in the direction of increase of bulk and coarseness of the feet. The work of Darwin and of Wallace on island life is of course classical, and as such liable to be ignored. When they wrote and laboured on the subject the extraordinary elaboration of modern zoology had scarcely begun, and it was less easy to lose sight of philosophical principles. We now know a considerable part of what is to be known about the "species" of the larger Indian vertebrates, using the term "species" in the loose way to which the museum zoologist is condemned; we do not know, even in a few cases, why one animal survives<sup>1</sup> under any given change of environment while another, apparently just as fitted for survival and quite as variable perishes. It is not likely that we shall soon gain any such knowledge, at any rate in the tropics; for such problems can only be studied in the field. Collectors have rarely time to observe, and all that can be done in a Museum is to classify and anatomize dead and imperfectly preserved material.

The object of this digression from the subject strictly in hand has been to illustrate the position of the Andaman *Gonatodes* as a distinct form, and at the same time to point out that even where a fauna has

<sup>1</sup> For example, why is it that certain species of the Indian tank molluscs succumb almost at once if kept in an aquarium without ventilation, while others from the same tank live for a considerable period under such conditions?



been completely "worked out," the greater and the more important part of its zoology has still to be investigated.

To return to the Andaman lizards. Of the Agamids, one, *Ocalotes andamanensis*<sup>1</sup>, is known from a single specimen in the Copenhagen Museum; it is allied to *O. liolepis* of Ceylon. Another is *O. mystaceus*,<sup>2</sup> which has a somewhat restricted range on the mainland of S.E. Asia and is common about Mandalay.<sup>3</sup> Major Anderson tells me that, in the Andamans, *O. versicolor* is found only in the Cocos group, not south of Table Island. It is essentially a mainland form and does not, as a general rule, penetrate into primæval jungle. In the Siamese Malay States it is only to be met with in cultivated land or secondary jungle and I believe that this is also true of India. It generally lays its eggs at the base of bushes in hedges or plantations. According to Prain (11), there are several cultivated plants which have run wild in the Cocos, and if these were brought from the mainland or elsewhere as plants, it is quite possible that the eggs of this lizard may have been brought with them. Although it has been recorded from the southern districts of the Malay Peninsula, *O. versicolor* is rare south of the Perak and Kelantan Rivers, its place being taken by *O. cristatellus*, which is closely allied to *O. jubatus* of the Nicobars and Malayan Islands. The southward range of *O. versicolor* as a common member of the local fauna is greater on the eastern than on the western side of the mountains which form the backbone of Malaya,<sup>4</sup> as is also the case with of a number of other animals.

*Gonyocephalus subcristatus*, on the other hand, is peculiar to the Andamans and the Nicobars. *G. humei* (Stol.) also occurs in the latter islands, but I do not think that this species can be maintained. We have in the Museum two males from Tillinchong identified as *Tiaris humei* by Stoliczka and possibly the types of the species. From the same island we have a normal specimen of *G. subcristatus*, also named by Stoliczka; but in a series from Kondal (an island in the other division of the Nicobar group), identified by the same authority as belonging to the latter species, I find a female which must be associated with the two males from Tillinchong. These three specimens are distinguished from the whole of a

<sup>1</sup> Boulenger, *Ann. Mag. N. H.* (vi) VIII, 1891, pp. 288, 289.

<sup>2</sup> I have found a well-authenticated specimen of this species from the Andamans in the Museum collection, which also contains several of *O. versicolor* from the Cocos.

<sup>3</sup> J. Anderson, *Res. Yunnan Ex.*, p. 806.

<sup>4</sup> It is convenient to confine this term to the Malay Peninsula, using "Malaysia" for the Malay Archipelago.



large collection (over one hundred specimens), made by different collectors in different islands of the Andamans and Nicobars, only by their greater size and more pronounced crest, which is interrupted in a very distinct manner just behind the neck and raised on a fleshy, laterally compressed hump in front of this point. On the whole, I am inclined to regard them not as representing a local race or even an incipient species, but as aged individuals of the common form. Against this view must be placed their rarity—and Major Anderson tells me that he has examined very large numbers of specimens without finding any like them. However, the adults of some Agamids (e.g., *G. borneensis* and *Aphaniotis fusca* in the Malay Peninsula, *vide* Laidlaw (9)) are seldom taken as compared with the young, while in some cases (e.g., that of *Calotes cristatellus* in Lower Siam) the largest individuals are only seen in very deep jungle, where of course there is less chance of their capture.

Of *Varanus salvator*, one of the bulkiest of lizards, I need say very little. It has practically the same range in Asia as *Gehyra mutilata* (except that it is found nearer the heart of India) and extends eastwards to Australia. Although it cannot be carried accidentally on ships, it is extremely tenacious of life and has frequently been observed swimming in salt water, though never far from shore. Probably it might survive in the sea for a considerable period clinging to a floating log, for it can go without food for weeks, if not months, without apparent inconvenience.

The Skinks, judging from the enormous number of closely allied species in the family, are among the most plastic of lizards; yet some of them have an extensive distribution. Of the Andaman forms, *Mabuia multifasciata* is the common Skink of the Malay Peninsula and extends northwards into Burma, possibly into Sikhim, southwards and eastwards into the Malay Archipelago. Specimens from the Andamans, of which I have seen a considerable number, may differ to a slight extent, on the average but not individually, from those taken on the mainland; for the proportion with quinquecarinate dorsal scales is probably greater than that given by Flower (10), who examined a large series in Malaya. *M. tytleri* and *L. macrotympanum* are only known from the Andamans. *L. maculatum* has a range similar (as far as the mainland of Asia is concerned) to that of *V. salvator*; *L. olivaceum* does not extend so far to the north, but is characteristically Indo-Malayan.

In comparing the Agamidæ and Scincidæ of the Andamans with those of the Nicobars, we find that several forms occur in the later group which are absent from the Andamans but have Malayan or Malabar affinities. *Calotes jubatus*, apparently common in the Nicobars, occurs



in the Malay Archipelago, but has not been recorded from the Peninsula; *O. ophiomachus* is only known from Ceylon and S. India. Several Skinks probably occur in the Nicobars which are absent from the Andamans, and the same may be true of *Dibamus novæ-guinææ*—the sole representative of a family closely allied to the Skinks and once regarded as peculiar to the Nicobars and Papuasia, but now known to exist both in the Malay Peninsula and in several of the islands of the Malay Archipelago.

What is perhaps a true relationship between the Andamans and Ceylon consists in the absence from both of the genus *Draco*, which occurs within the Malabar province in S. India (also in Malaya, Burma and Assam) and consists of forms too striking to escape notice readily.

Prain (12, 13) has shown that the flora of the Cocos group and that of Narcondam differ considerably from that of the southern Andamans. The geological separation between the different islands, and especially between Narcondam and the rest of the archipelago, is well illustrated by the marine depths marked on the maps recently published by Alcock (13) and Kloss (14). Narcondam is distinguished zoologically by the possession of an isolated Hornbill (*Rhytidoceros narcondami*). I have very little information about the lizards of the Cocos, except that *Calotes versicolor* and *Gonyocephalus subcristatus* occur; on Narcondam Major Anderson has taken *Gymnodactylus rubidus*, *Gonatodes andersonii* and *Phelsuma andamanense*, as well as *Mabuia multifasciata* and another Skink. The three Geckos characteristic of the Andamans therefore occur on this island. Of three specimens of *G. rubidus* from Narcondam in the Museum, two are considerably larger than any in a large series from other parts of the Andaman archipelago; otherwise no difference can be detected. The only adult specimen of *G. andersonii*,<sup>1</sup> is from Narcondam, but, except in point of size, it agrees with two young individuals collected by Wood-Mason somewhere in the Andamans (exact locality not specified) and confused by him with the young of *G. rubidus*, to which they bear a close superficial resemblance. Specimens of *P. andamanense* agree in every respect with those from the other islands.

I do not propose to generalize as to geography on the basis of the lizards. The study of a single sub-order somewhat poorly represented (or perhaps rather imperfectly known) does not permit wide generalizations as to the whole fauna, much less the geology and geography, even of a small group of islands. It has been my object to show, in the first place, that the vertebrates of the Andamans are not devoid

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written two more have been received from Narcondam, collected and presented by Mr. C. G. Rogers.





of zoological interest, in the second that the study of the geographical distribution of animals must be preceded by a study of their bionomics.

Description of *Gonatodes andersonii*, nov.

*Measurements.*

|                 |     |     |     |        |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| Total length    | ... | ... | ... | 73 mm. |
| Body            | ... | ... | ... | 23 "   |
| Tail            | ... | ... | ... | 40 "   |
| Head            | ... | ... | ... | 10 "   |
| Fore-limb       | ... | ... | ... | 11 "   |
| Hind-limb       | ... | ... | ... | 16 "   |
| Breadth of head | ... | ... | ... | 5 "    |

Closely allied to *G. kandianus* (Kelaart) from which it differs only in the following points :—(1) The habit is more slender, the limbs slightly, the tail considerably, longer ; (2) the scales on the back and sides are more nearly homogeneous, none of the former having a definite keel ; (3) the spine-like tubercles on the flanks are much reduced, but not altogether absent ; (4) there are only five or six labials on each jaw. The scales on the belly are smooth, as in the typical form of *G. kandianus*, or feebly keeled. *G. andersonii* differs from *G. gracilis* (another very close ally of *G. kandianus*) chiefly in respect of its proportions, but also in its scaling. The specimens have been compared with examples of *G. gracilis* named by Boulenger and of *G. kandianus* from the Sarasins' collection.

I have also examined specimens of *G. wicksii* (Stol.) from Preparaia which have been identified by the author of the species and may be his types. They agree exactly with Boulenger's description of *G. kandianus* and also with specimens of this species from Ceylon regarded by Theobald as typical of *G. humei*. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Boulenger was right in considering both these names to be synonyms of *G. kandianus*, as he does (but with a query) in the "Fauna of India" and his *Catalogue of Lizards*.

In a recent paper (6) I identified, with some doubt, the immature specimens of *G. andersonii* in the Museum with Beddome's *G. marmoratus* from S. India. The examination of an older specimen in better preservation shows that I was wrong.

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#### NOTE ON THE REPRODUCED TAIL IN PTYCHOZOOON HOMALOCEPHALUM.

I am not aware that the appearance of the tail after it has been lost and reproduced has been described in this species. It has a certain interest, because Müller<sup>1</sup> regards the character of the lobes of the tail as being of some importance as a specific distinction in the genus. In a specimen from the Nicobars, lately presented by Major Anderson to the Indian Museum, the distal part of the tail is reproduced. The scales upon it are slightly smaller than those upon the uninjured portion, and the dorsal tubercles are completely absent. The loose membrane surrounding it is only about half as wide as is normal, asymmetrical, not divided into lobes or expanded at the tip of the tail. Thus the condition differs considerably from that apparently normal in *P. horsfieldii*, Gray, but rather less so than from that of the uninjured tail of *P. homalocephalum*.

<sup>1</sup> *Festschr. Nat. Ges. Basel*, 1892, p. 209.



*Special Report on the prevalence of Fevers in the Dinajpur District—By*  
LEONARD ROGERS, M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., B.S., I.M.S.

The present enquiry was ordered by the Government of Bengal to be carried out on account of the death-rate from "fevers" having risen to over 40 per thousand, a previously unknown maximum, the plan of work being drawn up by the Sanitary Commissioner. The lines of investigation suggested by this officer were the following:—Firstly, lists of those who had died during the previous year in certain areas or villages were to be obtained from the thana books, and then the villages were to be visited, the relatives of the deceased sought out, and enquiries made from them as to the duration and symptoms of the fatal illness, and a diagnosis to be thus arrived at whenever possible. Secondly, any fever cases met with were to be examined in order to ascertain their exact nature. Owing to the investigation having to be carried out during the latter half of the cold weather and early part of the hot season, which is just the season of minimal prevalence of fever, opportunities of using the latter and more accurate method of enquiry were unfortunately very scanty, but on the other hand the time was most favourable for the village enquiry, which has occupied the greater portion of my time, and, in spite of the necessarily imperfect character of the data obtainable, a good deal of valuable information has been collected, which will at least enable a more accurate estimate to be made of the relative frequency of the principal causes of death generally returned by the village chaukidars under the very elastic heading "fever" than has hitherto been possible. This portion of the enquiry will, therefore, first be dealt with.

# PART I.—THE VILLAGE ENQUIRY.

In accordance with the orders of the Sanitary Commissioner certain villages or groups of villages had to be selected for the enquiry. Unfortunately the only records obtainable of the death-rates of different areas related to whole thanas, and no separate figures were available of those of different circles, much less of the separate villages. The thana death-rates were, therefore, first examined; and it was noted that the



areas which returned the highest "fever" death-rates were the three northern thanas, while the two in the southern extreme of the district had much the lowest death-rates. The intermediate ones all had a fairly uniform and interemediate rate. It was therefore arranged to examine circles in each of the three northern very unhealthy areas, in the two southern comparatively healthy ones, and in two intermediate ones, one to the east of Dinajpur and one to the west (see map). The headquarters of the thanas were first visited and enquiries made as to any specially unhealthy parts made, which, however, seldom resulted in any definite information on that point being gained owing to the absence of mortality figures for small areas. The circles were, therefore, chosen to illustrate as far as possible different conditions. Thus to the east of the town of Dinajpur a circle was selected which was bounded on both sides and to the south by streams, one of which was of a specially stagnant and swampy nature. At Birganj to the north-west of the district one group of villages on a main stream to the north-east of the thana was chosen, and another well away from the river in a drier area to the north-west. In the extreme south a business, as opposed to an agricultural class of people were selected at Nitpur, as well as a village population on either side of it, but unfortunately the population of the town proved to be so "floating" a one that no relative of many of the deceased could be found to give any information as to their illnesses. Circles containing three to four thousand inhabitants were taken, and a list of the deaths in each village returned as "fever" was obtained from the thana, together with the name of their nearest relatives, who were then collected in the villages and questioned. The notes of each case were taken down in shorthand, a regular series of questions being put designed to cover the principal symptoms of the diseases which most commonly produce fever, supplementary ones being asked whenever necessary. As a rule the answers received were surprisingly clear, and in the great majority of the cases a very fair history was obtained. In one or two villages only was a tendency noticed to systematically answer every question in the negative without a moment's consideration, and these cases had to be omitted from the tables. An idea of the nature of the information obtained can best be conveyed by recording the notes of a few consecutive cases such as the following group:—

*Thana, Thakagaon, village, Salanda.*

No. 1. Female; aged 57; died 11th February, 1903. Informant her son. Had suffered from several attacks of intermittent fever during the last two months accompanied with shivering fits. The last fatal attack of fever was of a continued type and lasted about twelve days.





There was pain in the left side of the chest, cough and mucous expectoration. The spleen was not noticed to be enlarged. There was no swelling of the feet, and neither pain nor swelling in the joints. During the last three days the bowels were loose, about three motions a day being passed. Diagnosis: pneumonia: following chronic malarial fever.

No. 2. Male; aged 18; died on 3rd March, 1903. Informant his brother. He had suffered from repeated attacks of fever for about one year. The last attack was of a continued type of six days' duration. He suffered from much cough, with muco-purulent expectoration throughout the whole course of his illness, and had pain in the right side towards the end. The spleen was not noticed to be enlarged, and there was no swelling of the feet or joints and no diarrhoea, but he was much wasted. Diagnosis: phthisis.

No. 3. Male; aged 34; died 13th March, 1903. Informant his brother. Suffered from fever of eight days' duration, of continued type, accompanied by pain on both sides of the chest, much cough and much muco-purulent expectoration. There was no enlargement of the spleen, diarrhoea or swelling of the feet or joints. Diagnosis: broncho-pneumonia.

No. 4. Female; aged 80; died 16th March, 1903. Informant her son (aged 50). She is said to have had intermittent fever for fifteen days, some pain in the right side, but no cough or expectoration, and no splenic enlargement. There was no swelling of the feet or joints, but she suffered from diarrhoea several times a day during the last two days of her life, and had been in a feeble condition of health for some time previously. Diagnosis: diarrhoea.

No. 5. Male; aged 80 years; died 21st March, 1903. Informant his nephew. He had suffered from fever on and off for the last six months, the final attack lasting fifteen days. He had no pain on the chest and no enlargement of the spleen, but suffered much from cough all through his illness accompanied by mucous expectoration, but no blood. He had no diarrhoea or swelling of the feet or joints. He was not wasted, but his chest was large and barrel-shaped. Diagnosis: chronic bronchitis.

No. 6. Male; aged 49; died 22nd March, 1903. Informant his uncle. He had suffered from fever for one-and-a-half years of an intermittent character, the last attack lasting one month. He had pain on the right side, and throughout his whole illness he had a cough, accompanied by mucous expectoration, but no blood. His spleen was not enlarged, and he had no swelling of the feet or joints. At the end he had diarrhoea for the last five days. Diagnosis: phthisis.



No. 7. Male; aged 60; died 6th April, 1903. Informant his son. His last illness lasted fifteen days, during which he suffered from continued fever. He had no pain, cough, enlargement of the spleen, swelling of the feet or joints, but suffered during the whole time from looseness of the bowels which were moved about eight times a day for fifteen days, the motions being accompanied by the passage of blood and mucous. Diagnosis: dysentery.

The above will serve to give some idea of the kind of histories obtained. Over one thousand cases in all were enquired into, and similar tabulated shorthand notes taken down on the spot in pencil, and as a rule on the same evening they were inked in and an analysis made. The principal difficulty occurred in deciding under what heading to place complicated cases, such as a chronic malarial fever with terminal dysentery or pneumonia. When the final illness and death was clearly due to the complication after an interval of freedom from fever it was placed under the heading of the disease which actually produced death, but the malarial complication predisposing was also noted. In all a diagnosis was come to in just 1,000 cases, a number which could not have been noted with in anything like as full a manner as was done within a reasonable time without the use of shorthand. Before making up the tables every case was gone over again after the whole of the notes had been taken, and great care taken that the same system of diagnosis and classification was carried through the whole series, the advantages of the lengthy experience gained being brought to bear on the whole number. It will be most convenient to first deal with the percentages of deaths due to the principal diseases as derived from an analysis of the whole number, so as to gain an idea of the main causes of the mortality of the district and their relative frequency; and then the variations in their frequency in different circles in the district will be pointed out. Next the rates per thousand of population in each area of the main diseases will be given and the deductions to be drawn from them indicated. Lastly, any variation in different village groups in each circle which appear to throw any light on the subject will be discussed. In this way we shall work backwards from the more accurate data based on the largest figures to the less certain ones supported by smaller series of cases, the former giving a standard of comparison for the latter.

#### ANALYSIS OF 1,000 DEATHS RETURNED AS "FEVER" IN THE DINAJPUR DISTRICT.

Before going on to the various tables in which I have analysed the



data collected, the whole of the cases must first be summarised in the following form which the Sanitary Commissioner has asked for :—

TABLE I.

|                                                        |       |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Total number of deaths from "fever" ... ..             | 1,104 |
| Number of deaths from malarial fevers* ... ..          | 318   |
| Number of deaths from non-malarial fevers ... ..       | 368   |
| Number of deaths wrongly reported under "fever" ... .. | 314   |
| Doubtful or unascertained ... ..                       | 104   |

It appears from this table that nearly one-third of the cases returned under the head of "Fever," which includes 90 per cent. of all deaths in the Dinajpur District, are incorrectly classed as such, while of the two-thirds correctly returned less than half are due to malarial fevers, including chronic fevers, some of which are probably due to unclassified fevers while a few others may be cases of various chronic diseases, the histories of which were not sufficient to enable them to be accurately diagnosed.

In the following table the 1,000 cases which were diagnosed are classified according to the most frequent causes of death, the percentages from each cause for the different circles examined being shown, while in the last column the percentages of the total number of deaths from each cause is entered :—

TABLE II.

|                                  | Dinaj-<br>pur. | Balur-<br>ghat. | Porsa. | Chura-<br>man. | Bir-<br>ganj. | Ranisan-<br>kail. | Thakur-<br>gaon. | Percentage<br>of total<br>cases diag-<br>nosed. |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Thana fever rate<br>per thousand | 44.06          | 29.99           | 29.05  | 38.93          | 43.43         | 47.21             | 41.67            | ...                                             |
| Malarial, acute                  | 17.5           | 14.7            | 16.25  | 11.3           | 14.58         | 5.3               | 12.0             | 13.3                                            |
| Ditto chronic                    | 24.0           | 16.0            | 18.75  | 18.6           | 16.7          | 17.3              | 15.5             | 18.5                                            |
| Pneumonia ...                    | 18.6           | 21.3            | 11.25  | 11.3           | 27.7          | 22.0              | 28.0             | 21.7                                            |
| Phthisis ...                     | 5.5            | 6.7             | 10.0   | 8.0            | 8.3           | 13.3              | 10.0             | 9.0                                             |
| Bronchitis ...                   | 3.8            | 2.0             | 1.25   | 1.6            | 1.4           | 1.3               | 3.0              | 2.3                                             |
| Diarrhœa ...                     | 4.4            | 10.0            | 11.25  | 12.1           | 10.4          | 13.3              | 9.0              | 10.2                                            |
| Dysentery ...                    | 3.8            | 7.3             | 3.75   | 11.3           | 5.5           | 7.3               | 3.5              | 6.1                                             |
| Enteric ...                      | ...            | 2.0             | 3.75   | 1.6            | 1.4           | 0.8               | 3.5              | 1.8                                             |
| Born feeble ...                  | 15.8           | 10.7            | 10.9   | 10.5           | 3.5           | 11.3              | 8.0              | 10.4                                            |
| Other causes ...                 | 6.6            | 8.7             | 5.0    | 8.8            | 7.6           | 4.8               | 5.0              | 6.7                                             |
| Not diagnosed ...                | ...            | 0.6             | 8.75   | 4.8            | 3.9           | 3.3               | 2.5              | ...                                             |
| Total cases ...                  | 183            | 150             | 80     | 124            | 144           | 150               | 200              | 100.0                                           |

\* Chronic cases many of which were doubtless due to the parasite recently described by Majors Leishman and Donovan are included under this heading.



This table presents several points of interest. In the first place it brings out the fact that all varieties of diseases are returned by the village chaukidar as "fever," a point which will be further illustrated when I come to discuss the cases classed above under "Other causes." The most striking evidence in this connection is the fact that although in the figures for the Dinajpur district for 1902 only 0·07 per thousand deaths were recorded under the head of "Dysentery and Diarrhœa," yet we find that among the cases returned as "fever" in the circles investigated no less than 16·3 per cent. belonged to this class, while in many other cases diarrhœa and dysentery were present as complications of malaria, phthisis and other diseases. The total death-rate of the district from fevers having been 37 per thousand, it is evident that the death-rate under dysentery and diarrhœa should have been about 4·5 per thousand, instead of 0·07, or in other words, only one case out of 63 dying of these bowel-complaints were correctly returned. Of course both dysentery and diarrhœa are often accompanied by fever, which the village chaukidar may well consider to be the primary cause of death, but the fact remains that the figures yearly published in the voluminous tables of the Sanitary Commissioner's annual report, the yearly variations of which have to be carefully explained, are, to say the least of it, grotesquely inaccurate and necessarily so under the present conditions of reporting. These cases of bowel-complaints, together with the deaths classed as "born feeble" (a term which will be explained presently) and many of those under "Other causes," together make up almost one-third of the total, all of which have been incorrectly returned under the head of "fever."

Secondly, the proportions of the different diseases correctly reported under the head of "fever" are most instructive. Thus we find pneumonia accounted for the largest proportion of deaths, namely 21·7 per cent., then came "Chronic malaria" 18·5 per cent., thirdly Acute malaria 13·3 per cent., and not far behind Phthisis no less than 9 per cent., while Bronchitis and Enteric accounted for the greater part of the remaining cases. It will be instructive to compare these figures with those I obtained for another purpose some time ago by analysing 950 consecutive *post-mortems* on cases from the medical wards of the Medical College Hospital, in order to ascertain the most frequent causes of death likely to be returned under "fever." At the same time the diagnosis made in fatal cases occurring in the Dinajpur hospital during the last two years may be given. These figures are shown in table III, but in comparing them with the results of the Dinajpur village enquiry certain points must be carefully borne in mind. The most important of these is the question of the ages of the



patients in the different series, for in the village death-rates all children are included, while at the Medical College Hospital but few children are admitted, while *post-mortems* are, practically speaking, never obtained on any who may die in the hospital. Similarly children are very rarely admitted to the Dinajpur hospital and infants never. This fact accounts for the comparatively small number of cases of acute malaria, diarrhoea, and to a less extent of pneumonia in the hospital figures. Due allowance being made for these differences, the figures are not without instruction :—

TABLE III.

|                                |     |     | Deaths in the<br>Dinajpur<br>Hospital.<br>Per. cent. | Calcutta<br>Medical College<br><i>post-mortem</i> .<br>Per cent. |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Malaria, acute, and remittents |     | ... | 26.4                                                 | 3.2                                                              |
| Ditto chronic                  | ... | ... | 13.6                                                 | 5.6                                                              |
| Pneumonia                      | ... | ... | 10.0                                                 | 11.0                                                             |
| Phthisis.                      | ... | ... | 5.0                                                  | 16.9                                                             |
| Serous inflammations           | ... | ... | 6.9                                                  | ...                                                              |
| Enteric                        | ... | ... | 0.7                                                  | 0.4                                                              |
| Other fevers                   | ... | ... | 2.9                                                  | 8.6                                                              |
| Diarrhoea                      | ... | ... | 5.0                                                  | ...                                                              |
| Dysentery                      | ... | ... | 19.3                                                 | ...                                                              |
| Other causes                   | ... | ... | 10.2                                                 | 54.3*                                                            |

In the Dinajpur hospital many of the cases returned as remittents occurred in the cold weather months, and were no doubt due to pneumonia, but still, allowing for this, acute malarial fevers were certainly much more common than in Calcutta, as might have been expected. Some of these cases were probably of a chronic type, making the figure under that head lower than it should be. Pneumonia was equally prevalent in both hospitals although this figure for Dinajpur under Dinajpur under-estimates the real number, for during the time I was in the district this disease was the most frequent cause of admission and death from continued or remittent fever.

Phthisis is of great importance, as in the Calcutta hospital it is by far the most frequent cause of death accompanied by marked fever during the illness, having constituted almost one-third of such cases. The high figure of 9 per cent. obtained in the village enquiry probably under-estimates rather than exaggerates the death-rate from this cause, while the 5 per cent. of cases dying in the Dinajpur hospital is probably too low, owing to some cases being overlooked by the Hospital Assistant.

\* Includes diarrhoea and dysentery cases.



We have, then, clear evidence that phthisis plays a very important part in the death-rate of Bengal villages as well as of the towns, and the disease was especially prevalent in the larger villages with more numerous substantial houses with impermeable walls, in which the people delight to shut themselves up in at night as closely as possible in the cold weather months. Several well-marked cases of the disease were seen in the villages, while it will be seen from tables II and VI that the disease was most prevalent in the northern and coldest thanas. It must, however, be remembered that malarial fever plays a most important predisposing part in the production of pulmonary tuberculosis, so that the high rate in the northern parts of the district may be partly due to their malarious character. This predisposition is well seen in two different class of cases,—firstly, in the case of adolescents, in which phthisis frequently makes its first appearance as a sequel to chronic malarial fever, and, secondly, in middle-aged people in whom old and latent tubercle of the lungs becomes fatally active as a result of the resisting powers being broken down by malarious attacks, as I have often seen in the Medical College *post-mortem* room.

The only other form of fever which requires comment here is probably enteric. The correctness of the diagnosis of these cases from the history of the illnesses obtained is open to greater question than in most of the other forms of fever dealt with, and in no case was a clear history of hæmorrhage from the bowel obtained. Cases were, however, met with in every circle visited of two to four weeks' continued fever without signs of pneumonia or other cause, some of which I feel sure were enteric cases. The figures must only be taken as indicating that the disease does occur in the villages in small numbers, while this is supported by the fact that one case was seen in the jail recently, and the diagnosis confirmed *post-mortem*, and another case was diagnosed in the hospital at Dinajpur about a year ago. That the disease is common enough in Calcutta among natives I demonstrated<sup>1</sup> some three years ago, while I have since that time seen cases in Chota Nagpur, and obtained positive serum reactions for typhoid in the blood of several cases sent from that part of Bengal, and have no doubt it occurs not very rarely in the province. I have not, however, obtained any evidence during this enquiry of its being at all a common cause of death in the Dinajpur district, so am inclined to think that the figure of 1·8 per cent. of fever deaths shown in table II is approximately correct, although probably somewhat under the mark. It was not found to be especially prevalent among children.

<sup>1</sup> Typhoid as a common continued fever of natives.—*Indian Medical Gazette*, January 1902.



Lastly, the term "born feeble" has been used to denote a very common class in which infants die during the first few days of life, being invariably returned under the head of "fever" by the bewildered chaukidars. These cases form no less than 10 per cent. of the total mortality thus returned, and account for a great part of the very high infant mortality. In only a small proportion of these could a history of premature birth be obtained, but as the informants were nearly invariably men this proportion was probably too low. In a larger number it was found on enquiry that the infant was small and thin at birth, although syphilis does not appear to be nearly as common in the villages as in the town. An attempt was made to ascertain if this mortality was due to immaturity of the mothers or over-frequent child-bearing, but the husbands nearly always professed complete ignorance of their wives' ages, or stated that it was from twenty to thirty even when they had but one child. One important fact was, however, ascertained, namely, that in a large proportion of the cases the mothers had suffered from malarial fevers for some time in the last month or so before delivery, while it will be seen from table IV that the majority of these feeble infants were born during the height of the malarial fever season from August to December. These facts point to the high infant mortality being largely due to repeated malaria during pregnancy causing the birth of many very feeble infants, which succumb in a few days after their entrance into conditions which they are unfitted to withstand. The other chief cause of the high infant mortality is diarrhoea, which is most prevalent during the hot weather months. In several of these cases the mother had died either during delivery or from puerperal septicæmia, the infant being fed on cow's milk. As may easily be imagined its chance of survival in a native village under such conditions is small. Several of the early infant deaths occurred in the case of twins, while males died as often as females.

"Other causes" include two classes of cases, diseases rightly returned under fever and those of which fever is not an essential symptom. Among the former are puerperal fever 10 cases, or 1 per cent. of fever deaths; peritonitis 5; meningitis 3; rheumatic fever (?) 1; and lymphangitis 1, making a total of 20, or 2 per cent. The second class include dropsy 19 cases; child-birth 5, or 0.5 per cent.; tetanus neonatorum 5; old age 5; malignant tumours 3; small-pox 1, cholera 3; and one each of epilepsy, measles, liver abscess, asthma, bad feeding in an infant, snake-bite, syphilis, epistaxis hæmatemesis and drowning, all of which had been returned under the head of "fever." Many of these mistakes show obvious carelessness on the part of the chaukidars, but many of the more common errors would appear to be due to want of some small



degree of instruction and control. Thus some thanas show no cases at all returned under the head of diarrhoea and dysentery, while only 70 deaths were returned under this head in the whole district in 1903. The numbers under "Other diseases" are always very much below the mark, only 295 cases having been shown in 1903. Whether the slight improvement which might be expected to result in from some elementary instructions being issued to the chaukidars is worth the trouble of undertaking must be left to the Sanitary Commissioner to decide, for in no case can anything approaching a reasonable degree of accuracy be expected from the present agency, while it is not easy to see how any other agency could be employed except at a prohibitive cost. The question whether many deaths escape registration my enquiry was not best fitted to ascertain, but on several occasions after going through the list of deaths returned I enquired for other deaths, but, as a rule, those which were mentioned by the villagers belonged to other years, and I came across very few deaths which had not been reported. The introduction of the duffadari system several years ago appears to have produced a considerable improvement in this respect, and as far as I can make out the total death-rates are now fairly accurate, although possibly somewhat below the mark in the southernmost thanas.

#### MONTHLY DISTRIBUTION AND AGE INCIDENCE OF THE PRINCIPAL DISEASES.

The age and date of death of each case was noted, and the analysis of these data has presented some points of interest and importance, which can best be shown in tables illustrating these data in regard to the chief causes of deaths returned as "fever."

TABLE IV.—MONTHLY INCIDENCE OF DISEASES.

|           | Malaria,<br>acute. | Malaria,<br>chronic. | Pneumonia. | Phthisis. | Bronchitis. | Diarrhoea. | Dysentery. | Enteric. | Born feeble. |
|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|----------|--------------|
| January   | ...                | 16                   | 27         | 8         | 4           | 10         | 2          | ...      | 5            |
| February  | ...                | 11                   | 27         | 6         | ...         | 8          | 4          | 1        | 10           |
| March     | ...                | 20                   | 8          | 10        | 4           | 9          | 4          | 6        | 8            |
| April     | 7                  | 17                   | 19         | 5         | 2           | 12         | 11         | 2        | 11           |
| May       | 2                  | 11                   | 17         | 8         | 2           | 10         | 1          | 2        | 2            |
| June      | 9                  | 13                   | 16         | 7         | 1           | 6          | 5          | 1        | 3            |
| July      | 17                 | 14                   | 10         | 3         | 1           | 6          | 2          | 1        | 2            |
| August    | 17                 | 13                   | 8          | 2         | 2           | 5          | 8          | ...      | 7            |
| September | 19                 | 11                   | 6          | 6         | ...         | 5          | 2          | ...      | 9            |
| October   | 22                 | 15                   | 20         | 4         | 2           | 5          | 4          | ...      | 13           |
| November  | 24                 | 20                   | 28         | 14        | 2           | 17         | 3          | 2        | 16           |
| December  | 16                 | 24                   | 31         | 17        | 3           | 9          | 15         | 3        | 18           |
| Total     | 133                | 185                  | 217        | 90        | 23          | 102        | 61         | 18       | 104          |



The seasonal distribution of the different diseases shown in this table are just what might have been expected, and thus indirectly confirm the general accuracy of the diagnosis arrived at. The most striking figures are those classed as acute malaria, the diagnosis of which was largely a matter of exclusion of other likely kinds of fever, and the fact that the very great majority of the cases occur in the height of the malarial season strongly supports the substantial accuracy of the data obtained, and also show that the time of the enquiries was the minimum malaria fever season, a fact which is in agreement with the returns of cases treated at the dispensaries of the district. Again, in the case of pneumonia the majority of the cases occur in the cold weather months, when the temperature falls to 30°F., the early mornings being both cold and misty. The cases classed as chronic malaria are more uniformly distributed, yet the largest numbers occur in the latter part of the malarial season, while an examination of the duration of these cases shows that the great majority of deaths from chronic fevers of from one to three months' duration occurred during the late autumn and early cold weather months, being thus doubtless mostly of malarial origin; while on the other hand most of the cases of very long duration, namely, six months or a year and more, died during the months of from March to July and most frequently in the hot weather season. Most of these latter were probably cases of the cachexial type of fever in which Leishman-Donovans bodies are found.

The prevalence of the cases classed as enteric in the dry months in the greatest numbers, and the nearly complete absence of them in the wet malarial season is also in accordance with the distribution of enteric fever in Calcutta, as I have shown in a previous paper.<sup>1</sup>

The great frequency of deaths in infants of a few days old during the malarial autumnal months has already been pointed out and discussed. Diarrhoea cases were most frequent in the hot season among children of under one year.

In the table on the next page, again the most striking and important figures relate to acute malaria, for it appears that three-quarters of the fatal cases under this heading occurred in children under ten years of age; and as it is now known that the infection of malaria is also spread mainly through children, it is clear that any measure which will appreciably lower the amount of malaria in children will have a most marked effect in reducing the death-rate from this disease. In the case of chronic malaria, too, a large proportion of the shorter and most definitely malarial cases also occurred among the children, while the majority of cases

<sup>1</sup> The differentiation of the continued and remittent fevers of the tropics by the blood changes. *Trans. of the Medical Chir. Sec., 1903 and Lancet, Volume 1, 1903.*



TABLE V.—AGE INCIDENCE OF THE PRINCIPAL DISEASES.

| Year.           | Under<br>1. | 1-5. | 5-10. | 10-15. | 15-20. | 20-30. | 30-40. | 40-50. | 50-60. | Over 60. | TOTAL. |
|-----------------|-------------|------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|--------|
| Acute malaria   | 21          | 59   | 21    | 7      | 7      | 5      | 3      | 6      | 3      | 1        | 133    |
| Chronic malaria | 2           | 30   | 20    | 12     | 11     | 28     | 23     | 20     | 11     | 28       | 185    |
| Pneumonia       | 16          | 34   | 23    | 19     | 21     | 21     | 20     | 19     | 11     | 33       | 217    |
| Phthisis        | ...         | ...  | ...   | 4      | 6      | 21     | 22     | 20     | 9      | 8        | 90     |
| Bronchitis      | ...         | ...  | ...   | ...    | ...    | ...    | 1      | ...    | 2      | 20       | 23     |
| Diarrhœa        | 41          | 23   | 4     | 3      | 2      | 5      | 6      | 3      | 2      | 13       | 102    |
| Dysentery       | 8           | 9    | 5     | 3      | 2      | 8      | 10     | 4      | 6      | 6        | 61     |
| Enteric         | ...         | 1    | ...   | 4      | 1      | 5      | 6      | ...    | 1      | ...      | 18     |

among adults were of a chronic nature, that is of a month or more in duration.

In the case of pneumonia it appears that nearly one-half of the cases occurred in children under 15 years old, who are scarcely ever admitted to hospitals, while the next most common age is over 60, generally in the form of broncho-pneumonia. Phthisis, on the other hand, is met with chiefly in young and middle-aged adults and bronchitis in old people.

Diarrhœa was by far the most common in infants under one year of age, more especially in the hot weather months, and next in children between one and five years of age, and in very old people, between 60 and 90 years. Dysentery was more evenly distributed, children and middle-aged adults chiefly suffering. Enteric was most prevalent between the ages of 10 and 40, and was not frequently met with in young children.

The figures given in table II, showing the relative proportion of deaths from different diseases in each circle, show a considerable degree of uniformity, but the exact percentage of different diseases in any one class will necessarily be dependent on those in the others. For example, in the case of the Thakurgaon district in the extreme north pneumonia is particularly prevalent, leaving a smaller number of cases to be distributed among the other causes of death. For this reason only general deductions can be drawn from these figures such as the larger proportion of cases of pneumonia and phthisis in the northern colder circles, as already pointed out. For the comparison of the degree of



healthiness of the different parts of the district the death-rates per thousand of population must be examined.

DEATH-RATES PER THOUSAND IN EACH CIRCLE FROM THE PRINCIPAL DISEASES.

The distribution in the district of the different groups of villages in which the enquiries were made has already been briefly indicated, but some further remarks on the topographical conditions of these areas must be made. At this the driest time of the year it is very difficult to find any definite differences in the general surroundings of the villages in different circles, all resembling each other exceedingly closely. The whole district is one huge collection of rice-fields together with areas where jute is grown, and here and there patches of jungle, especially in the northern portion of the district. Numerous shallow half-dried up streams traverse the district from north to south, mostly in wide sandy beds, while among the rice-fields here and there small swamps of shallow weed-grown water still remain in the cold season. Tanks are fairly numerous and, in many places, are situated at a distance of several hundred yards from the villages, so that, their banks not being the nearest and most convenient latrine, the water of many of them appears to be good. There are also numerous wells in all parts of the district except the south, where the water-level is much lower than elsewhere, and wells therefore much more difficult to construct. In fact, the higher the ground water-level the greater the number of village wells. The water-supply, however, of neighbouring villages, whose general surroundings were similar, differed so little that no definite instances of variations in the death-rates, which could be attributed with any reason to their water-supply, were met with. In a previous enquiry,<sup>1</sup> which I carried out in the Bogra district, I found a very definite relationship between the lowness of the ground water-level in the dry season and the lowness of the spleen-rate, while the Malaria Commission have recently shown that there is a definite relationship between the spleen-rate and the proportion of children infected by the malarial parasites, or as, they call it, the "endemic index." This is a most important fact, as in a single-handed enquiry of the comprehensive nature required in the present instance it was impossible to attempt to work out the "endemic index" in all the areas visited, while an attempt to do so on a limited scale in the Bogra enquiry showed that in the minimal fever season of the late cold weather it does not give results proportional to the labour involved in carrying it out. In the present instance, therefore, I examined as many children between the ages of 2 and 10 as I could in each circle, and also carefully took measurements of the ground

<sup>1</sup> Report on the effect of the silting up of the Karatoya river on health of the Bogra district, 1901.



water-level in the wells. These figures are embodied in the following table of the death-rates per thousand in each circle from the main diseases :—

TABLE VI.

|                                               | 1         | 2         | 3      | 4         | 5        | 6           | 7           |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------|-----------|----------|-------------|-------------|
|                                               | Dinajpur. | Balughat. | Parsa. | Churaman. | Birganj. | Ranisankil. | Thakurgaon. |
| 1. Position in district                       | C.        | S.-E.     | S.-W.  | W.        | N.-E.    | N.-W.       | N.          |
| 2. Ground water-level in feet                 | 8-10      | 16-20     | 33     | 15        | 9-17     | 5-12        | 12          |
| 3. Spleen-rate per cent.                      | 54.3      | 56.7      | 28.3   | 29.3      | 72.8     | 83.2        | 95.0        |
| 4. Thana birth-rate                           | 42.2      | 38.87     | 37.62  | 45.38     | 40.44    | 39.96       | 37.75       |
| 5. " total death-rate                         | 49.28     | 34.78     | 31.33  | 41.60     | 44.93    | 48.52       | 43.66       |
| 6. " fever death-rate                         | 44.06     | 29.99     | 29.05  | 38.93     | 43.43    | 47.21       | 41.67       |
| 7. Population of circle                       | 3,886     | 4,253     | 3,848  | 3,307     | 3,355    | 3,400       | 4,459       |
| 8. Fever death of circle                      | 187       | 164       | 109    | 132       | 150      | 157         | 205         |
| 9. Ratio per 1,000                            | 48.06     | 36.33     | 28.62  | 39.88     | 44.70    | 46.20       | 45.96       |
| 10. " " of acute malaria                      | 8.19      | 5.2       | 3.41   | 4.23      | 6.26     | 2.56        | 5.38        |
| 11. " " of chronic malaria                    | 11.31     | 5.4       | 3.94   | 6.95      | 7.15     | 7.85        | 6.94        |
| 12. " " of pneumonia                          | 8.70      | 7.52      | 2.36   | 4.23      | 11.02    | 9.69        | 12.55       |
| 13. " " of phthisis                           | 2.57      | 2.35      | 2.10   | 3.02      | 3.57     | 5.88        | 4.48        |
| 14. " " of bronchitis                         | 2.05      | 0.7       | 0.26   | 0.6       | 0.59     | 0.59        | 1.34        |
| 15. " " of diarrhoea                          | 2.05      | 3.5       | 2.36   | 4.53      | 4.47     | 5.88        | 4.03        |
| 16. " " of dysentery                          | 1.80      | 2.6       | 0.79   | 4.23      | 2.38     | 3.23        | 1.67        |
| 17. " " of enteric                            | ...       | 0.7       | 0.79   | 0.6       | 0.59     | 0.59        | 1.57        |
| 18. " " of "born feeble"                      | 7.45      | 3.7       | 2.10   | 3.03      | 1.49     | 4.96        | 5.59        |
| 19. " " of other causes                       | 2.05      | 3.4       | 1.05   | 3.33      | 3.28     | 2.35        | 2.24        |
| 20. " " of not diagnosed                      | 1.03      | 3.5       | 9.46   | 4.23      | 3.87     | 3.53        | 2.24        |
| 21. Total malaria including complicated cases | 21.55     | 11.3      | 8.40   | 12.38     | 15.51    | 16.10       | 16.82       |

A comparison of the second, third and the sixth lines of the table shows a remarkable relationship between a high ground water-level and high spleen-rates and fever mortality of the thanas and *vice versa*. Thus at Parsa the ground water-level was 33 feet down, and the spleen-rate was only 28.3, the lowest met with, while the fever death-rate of 29.05 per thousand was also the lowest of all the thanas. Exactly the reverse holds good of the Ranisankil circle, in which the highest ground water-level coincides with the highest spleen and fever-rates. Similarly, Dinajpur, Birganj, and Thakurgaon thanas show high ground water-levels and spleen and fever rates, while those of Balughat and Churaman have lower rates approaching those of Parsa. The Dinajpur spleen-rate was not as high as might have been expected, but the number of children examined in that circle was small. Turning next to line 9, which shows the fever death-rate per thousand in the circles examined, we find a remarkably close relationship between the death-rates of these small circles and those of the thanas in which they are situated (line 6), clearly showing that the number of deaths enquired into in each circle were sufficient for the purpose of getting fairly accurate



figures. An examination of the death-rates per thousand from the principal diseases reveals the fact that in the unhealthy thanas (1, 5, 6, and 7) the cases returned under acute and chronic fever and under pneumonia are especially high as compared with the less unhealthy areas (2, 3, and 4): further the highest rate for children dying within a few days of birth are also found in thanas (1 and 6), that is just the two which have the highest fever death-rates. The highest rates for phthisis are also met with in the unhealthy northern thanas 6 and 7. The rates for bowel-complaints are irregularly distributed in this respect. In line 21 the figures of the total death-rate from cases classed as malarial fever, including those dying of complications, such as pneumonia, dysentery and diarrhoea, are given, and they bring out clearly the fact that the principal cause of the differences in the death-rates of the unhealthy and less unhealthy circles is mainly due to the greater mortality from malarious diseases in the former class—a point of the utmost practical importance, as it is among these cases that there is the best chance of lowering the mortality and saving lives by proper sanitary and prophylactic measures. This is in fact one of the most important conclusions to be derived from the analysis of the tables, based on figures which have been collected with great care and trouble, and which are at least very much more accurate than the ordinary statistical data available.

The relationship to the ground water-levels of the health of the different areas shows that these local variations are dependent on the physical characters of the country, which cannot be altered save by the slow operations of nature in raising a deltaic tract or by the more rapid action of severe earthquakes, such as that of 1897, which is said to have improved the health of the Rangpur district, probably by slightly raising the level of the country and thus allowing of better surface drainage and more rapid drying up of the soil at the end of the rainy season.

#### THE SEASONAL INFLUENCE OF VARIATION IN THE RAINFALL.

In this connection it will be convenient to refer to the seasonal conditions which influence the mortality from fevers in different years. It is unnecessary to go into detail on this point, as the results of a close study of the monthly rainfall of different parts of the district and the fever death-rates for the last ten years have only confirmed the very close relationship between a marked deficiency of the rainfall and a high death-rate from fevers, which I pointed out in 1897 in my report on Kala-azar<sup>1</sup> to have been characteristic of the Rangpur and Dinajpur

<sup>1</sup> Report on Kala-azar, 1893.



districts, for the last thirty years, and which I showed in my report on the health of the neighbouring Bogra district<sup>1</sup> also holds true of that area. In Dinajpur there was one marked exception to this rule for the rainfall was heavy in 1902, and the fever death-rate also high, but on examining the monthly figures it appeared that, although the total fall was high, the rains stopped earlier than usual, the amount in the latter part of the rainy season being deficient. The explanation of the relationship is simple enough, as when the rains are deficient and especially when they are so in the latter part of the season, then the time during which the country is drying up, and innumerable pools suitable for the breeding of mosquitoes are present, is prolonged, and the fever season, which is autumnal in these parts, begins early, and also as a rule continues late, the total death-rate being considerably enhanced. On the other hand, when the rains are steady and prolonged, these low-lying parts are mostly flooded and the mosquito larvæ are carried away. In support of this supposition I may cite the case of the floods in Calcutta in 1900, during which year I was making regular observations on the breeding places of anopheles in a suburb of Calcutta,<sup>2</sup> and the only time I failed to find any was soon after the floods. On the other hand, in high ground, such as Chota Nagpur, the fever season is at the height of the rains and follows the rise and fall of the ground water-level, malarial cases rapidly decreasing at the end of the rains owing to the quick subsidence of the ground water-level, as I showed in the case of Ranchi in 1896.<sup>3</sup> These seasonal variations are also beyond control, but a knowledge of them will not only allow the variations in the incidence of malaria to be easily understood in different districts, but the increases of the fever-rate may be confidently predicted as soon as the character of the monsoon has fully declared itself and measures taken by the medical authorities to meet the coming rise, while a decrease may also be foreseen on the onset of a favourable season, and needless alarm of a recurrence of the high fever-rate may be allayed.

#### BIRTH RATES.

The Sanitary Commissioner has also asked for information on the relationship of the birth and death-rates. In 1902 the high death-rate was accompanied by a high birth-rate, that of the Dinajpur district

<sup>1</sup> Report on the effect of the silting up of the Karatoya river on the health of the Bogra district, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> The seasonal prevalence of anopheles and malarial fever in Lower Bengal and the practical application of the mosquito theory. *Journal of Hygiene*, October 1901.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Medical Gazette*, February 1896.



having been 49 per thousand, and it has been pointed out that this is an unusual state of affairs. In line 4 of table VI are shown the birth-rates of the thanas in which I worked, and it will be seen that they are very much lower than those of the previous year. The explanation seems to be simply that as the highest death-rate due to fevers take place in the autumn, its effect in reducing the birth-rate will not be evident until the figures of the succeeding year are available, so that the lower birth-rate of 1903, corresponds with the high death-rate of 1902, as might have been expected. The large number of infants which die within a few days of death in the malarial season, their mothers having suffered from malaria before delivery, which has been already pointed out, also go to swell both the birth and death-rates of the Dinajpur district and partially account for the relatively high birth-rate. No definite relationship between the birth and death-rates of the different thanas can be made out from the figures given in table II, the birth-rates not having varied greatly in different parts of the district. The fact that both the birth and the death-rates are lowest in the two southern thanas may possibly be due to less efficient registration in that part of the district. The rates for all the villages visited have also been obtained for me by the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. F. L. Peters (to whom I am greatly indebted for all the trouble he has taken over my enquiry), but the figures show such extreme variations that it is clear that the populations of individual villages are too small for such a study to be of any value. Taking several villages together I find that the birth-rates were unusually low in most of the villages of the very unhealthy Ranisankail circle, where they averaged only about 30 per thousand, but more than that cannot be said.

#### VARIATIONS IN THE MORTALITY FROM FEVERS IN INDIVIDUAL VILLAGES.

Next we have to consider the variations in the surroundings of different villages in relationship to the fever mortalities in them. Here we have to be specially cautious in drawing conclusions for several reasons. In the first place the villages are mostly very small, containing two or three hundred inhabitants only, so that small and possibly accidental variations in the number of deaths in a single year will make great differences in the rate per thousand of population. In the second place the subdivision of a circle into different villages for the purposes of mortality returns in this part of Bengal is a very artificial one, for villages in the sense of a collection of considerable number of houses close together are rarely met with, each so-called village really consisting of a number of scattered homesteads dotted at irregular intervals over a considerable area, which may amount to one or more square miles, so that the



relationship of different parts of a village to such a source of mosquitos as a small stream may differ widely. Further, as already pointed out, the conditions in the cold dry weather give but a faint and totally inadequate idea of the surroundings in the rainy fever season, as will be further illustrated in the section on mosquitos. Nevertheless in a few instances there seemed to be a definite relationship between certain conditions and the fever death-rate which are worth mentioning. Thus the Dinajpur circle comprised an area between two streams, one of which was a clean sandy river bed with a good flow, while the other was a stagnant weed covered and very sluggish one. Two villages on the banks of the latter had a fever death-rate of 81·8 per thousand, the highest rate met with during the whole enquiry. The other villages did not show such marked variations, but the death-rate of the whole area was very high, as was the water-level and the malarial rate. In short, it was a typical example of a waterlogged area in a "dying river" district.

Next we may take the Birganj circle, which furnished an instructive example. As already mentioned, the villages in this circle were chosen partly on a good river and partly several miles from it in an area quite dried up at the time of my visit. Nevertheless, the latter dry area showed a death-rate of 54·3 per thousand against one of 41·1 in a group of villages near the river and of 34·7 in a large village close to the river, but on higher ground with a water-level 17 feet down. The explanation of this difference was revealed when it was found that the dry area had the high ground water-level of 9 feet. It was therefore less well drained than the higher areas near the stream, and the floods of the rainy season would be longer in subsiding at the end of the year, and would thus form favourable mosquito-breeding grounds for a longer time. In the Thakurgaon circle there were four large villages of scattered hamlets all under very similar conditions and with about the same ground water-level (12 feet), and here the death-rates varied very little, all being between 40 and 50 per thousand. In Ranisankail itself the ground water was  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet down and the spleen-rate was 62·7 per cent., while the fever death-rate was 45·5 per thousand. In the villages to the north and south the spleen-rate was 98 per cent. and the ground water-level only from 5 to 11 feet down, while the fever death-rate was 74·3 per thousand, a very high figure. Here once more we find a relationship between a high ground water-level and a high spleen and fever rate. It was here that numerous cases of chronic fever with very large spleens were met with, the nature of which will be discussed in the second part of this report. They are precisely those cases which have always been known as "Malarial Cachexia" and which are responsible



for much of the death-rate returned as chronic fevers in my tables, although some of them fall under the head of pneumonia and dysentery, as these diseases often attack people debilitated by prolonged fever and prove the actual cause of their deaths.

The above four circles are those with the highest fever death-rates and the uniformity with which they show a marked relationship between a high ground water-level and high spleen and fever death-rates, a relationship which I have repeatedly pointed out in previous reports and papers,<sup>1</sup> is the most striking and important point brought out by this part of the inquiry.

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## PART II.—THE NATURE AND ETIOLOGY AND PROPHE- LAXIS OF THE FEVERS IN DINAJPUR.

### THE VARIETIES OF FEVER MET WITH.

It has already been mentioned in the first part of this report that the enquiry was carried out in the minimal fever season, and that the village enquiry occupied the major part of my time. Nevertheless, a few cases of fever were met with attending the Dinajpur dispensary, the blood of which was examined for malarial parasites, while on two occasions a number of chronic fevers in the most feverish part of the district were examined by means of spleen puncture for the recently described parasite-like bodies found last year in chronic fevers by Leishman and Donovan, and more recently in a case from Sylhet by Manson and Low.

Firstly, with regard to the kinds of malaria met with, the commonest variety was the malignant tertian form just as it is in Calcutta and most parts of India. One case of benign tertian was also found in Dinajpur. During the village enquiry a history of quartan fever was obtained in a number of cases in the circle a few miles to the east of the town, and these cases were usually of a chronic nature, terminating fatally after several months of fever. During my last visit to Ranisankail a patient came to the hospital with a history of fever of the quartan type, and having suffered from an attack two days before. An examination of his blood showed typical quartan parasites, some just beginning to sporulate, which would correspond with his statement. These cases are probably much more common in the rainy season, and are of interest in connection with the finding of A. Listoni in the district to be mentioned presently, for in the Duars the Malarial Commission found quartan fever to be the commonest type and to be also associated with the same species of anopheles. All three varieties of malaria were thus met with

<sup>1</sup> The relationship of the level of the ground water-level to the incidence and seasonal distribution of malarial fevers in India. *Lancet*, March 12th, 1898.



in the district even in the dry season, but it is not possible to deduce accurately the relative prevalence of each from the few cases found at this time of the year.

A more important question to solve was whether the Leishman-Donovan bodies could be found in chronic fevers in this district, and, if so, the frequency of their prevalence and how to differentiate from ordinary chronic malaria. Dinajpur was an especially interesting place in which to examine this question, for, as I showed in my report on Kala-azar, that epidemic took its origin in a very severe outbreak of fever in the Dinajpur and Rangpur districts in the early seventies owing to a succession of very unhealthy years on account of deficient rainfall. The brief description as yet published by Donovan<sup>1</sup> pointed to a close resemblance between his cases and Kala-azar, and he has recently suggested that they may be the same disease. For purposes of searching for this new parasite it is necessary to do a spleen puncture, as they have not yet been found in the peripheral circulation. This little operation is without danger if properly done, but it necessitates being able to examine the cases in a hospital and careful antiseptic precautions. For over a month a careful watch was kept for suitable cases in the Dinajpur in-door dispensary, but no such case presented itself. On discussing the question with Captain Megaw (to whom I am very greatly indebted for much help throughout my investigation both in getting me cases and in helping in the microscopical examination of some of the slides) he informed me that he had seen a number of such cases at one place only, and that was Ranisankail in the north-west part of the district. When at this place on the village enquiry a number of such cases were met with in the villages around, and they came to the dispensary, which was the most popular one in the district, and by means of anæsthetising the surface of the skin with an ethyl chloride spray, spleen puncture was readily performed, even in children, in a painless manner and without the slightest difficulty, on the part of the patients, except in so far that some without fever were disappointed at not being submitted to the new treatment. On a subsequent occasion a second series were done at the same dispensary, every case with any considerable enlargement of the spleen and recent fever being taken without any selection, the histories of the cases being also carefully recorded. These cases taken as a whole were exactly those which have always been considered to be "Malarial Cachexia," some of them presenting as great enlargement of the spleen and liver, accompanied by general wasting and darkening of the skin, as seen in typical cases of Kala-azar

<sup>1</sup> Donovan, *Indian Medical Gazette*, December 1903.



or Kala-dukḥ when they were considered individually. Others of the cases only presented comparatively slight enlargement of the spleen such as invariably results from repeated attacks of malarial fever. Including one case examined later in the Dinajpur hospital, 30 in all were submitted to spleen puncture, and in most of them a slide was also made from the peripheral blood, and examined for malarial parasites, and a differential leucocyte<sup>1</sup> count made. In this way it was expected that it would be possible to get some clear ideas as to the differentiation of the class of cases in which the new parasites were found from the malarial cases. The results obtained can best be shown by tabulating them in groups.

TABLE VII.—CHRONIC MALARIAL FEVERS.

| No. | Sex. | Age. | Duration of fever. | Recent fever. | Anæmia.     | Darkening of the skin. | Enlargement of the spleen. | Liver edge below ribs. | Wasting. | Malarial parasite. |
|-----|------|------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| 1   | M.   | 7    | 3 years...         | Slight ...    | Slight ...  | Very dark              | Beyond navel.              | Nil                    | Thin     | Mal tert.          |
| 2   | "    | 7    | 2 " ...            | Frequently    | Do. ...     | Extremely dark         | A. S. S.                   | 1"                     | Do.      | Ditto.             |
| 3   | "    | 12   | 2½ " ...           | Every day     | Marked ...  | Dark ...               | To navel                   | ...                    | Do.      | Ditto.             |
| 4   | "    | 14   | 2 " ...            | Ditto ...     | Do. ...     | Nil ...                | Beyond navel.              | Nil                    | Nil      | Ditto.             |
| 5   | "    | 8    | 3½ " ...           | Frequently    | Very marked | Dark ...               | A. S. S.                   | 1"                     | Thin     | Crescents.         |

A. S. S. equals down to the anterior superior spine of the ilium.

It will be seen that these cases were of a very chronic type of fever, and all showed the malignant tertian variety of malarial parasite and marked splenic enlargement. Nos. 2 and 4 also showed marked increase of the large mononuclear white corpuscles, namely 14 and 17 per cent., respectively. No. 3 showed 9 per cent. and No. 5 only 6 per cent.

TABLE VIII.—CHRONIC FEVERS SHOWING LOSHMAN-DONOVAN BODIES.

| No. | Sex. | Age. | Duration of fever. | Present fever. | Anæmia.     | Darkening of the skin. | Enlargement of the spleen. | Liver below ribs. | Wasting.  | Leishman-Donovan bodies. |
|-----|------|------|--------------------|----------------|-------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1   | F.   | 4    | 15 months          | Daily ...      | Very marked | Dark ...               | A. S. S.                   | 1" ...            | Extreme   | Numerous.                |
| 2   | M.   | 15   | 1 year             | Do. ...        | Marked ...  | Very dark              | Beyond navel.              | 1" ...            | Ditto..   | Scanty.                  |
| 3   | "    | 25   | 2 years            | Slight ...     | Slight ...  | Dark ...               | 4" ...                     | Nil...            | Slight... | Numerous                 |
| 4   | "    | 15   | 7 months           | Daily ...      | Do. ...     | Do. ...                | Beyond navel.              | Do.               | Extreme   | Scanty.                  |
| 5   | "    | 40   | 2 years            | Do. ...        | Do. ...     | Nil ...                | 4" ...                     | Do.               | Thin ...  | Numerous.                |
| 6   | "    | 14   | 1 month            | Do. ...        | Do. ...     | Do. ...                | To navel                   | 1" ...            | Nil ...   | Scanty.                  |
| 7   | "    | 8    | 1 year             | Do. ...        | Very marked | Do. ...                | Ditto ...                  | Nil               | Extreme   | Do.                      |
| 8   | F.   | 7    | 1 month            | Do. ...        | Marked ...  | Dark ...               | Beyond navel               | 4" ...            | Thin ...  | Numerous.                |
| 9   | "    | 6    | 1 year             | Do. ...        | Slight ...  | Nil ...                | A. S. S.                   | 4" ...            | Extreme   | Scanty.                  |
| 10  | M.   | 8    | 1 "                | Nil ...        | Marked ...  | Dark ...               | Ditto ...                  | 1" ...            | Ditto...  | Do.                      |

\* Died of pneumonia. Bodies found in spleen, liver and bone marrow post-mortem.

<sup>1</sup> Since my return to Calcutta I have been able to find these parasites in still



The table on the previous pages shows a very similar class of cases to those in that of the malarial series, and also a very great variation in the duration of the disease. Thus in cases 6 and 8 the fever had only lasted one month and no marked cachexia was present, although the spleen in both cases was very large for such a duration of fever, being down to the navel. In No. 8 the temperature was 100·2 at the time the spleen puncture was performed, and the slides contained the largest number of bodies met with in any case in the Dinajpur district. In both series of cases darkening of the skin was a marked feature of the majority, and in some instances the patients or their relatives volunteered the statement that the skin had become darker recently. In nearly all of both series there was distinct and often extreme wasting, the face and limbs being very thin, and contrasting with the large abdomens, presented the typical picture of the condition always known as "Malarial Cachexia," but this remark is equally applicable to those which showed only malarial parasites as to those which presented the new bodies recently described. In short, these examinations throw no light on the very difficult question of the differentiation of the malarial cases from those which are presumably due to the new bodies, admitting for the present that they are parasites, as they appear to be. It is of course possible that all these chronic cases may be due to the new bodies, and the presence of malarial parasites in some of them was an accidental complication. It appears to be more likely, however, that the new bodies are a form of protozoa very closely allied to the malarial parasites, and producing a very similar train of symptoms, but with a greater tendency to produce rapid cachexial state, and with a greater resistance to the action of quinine in ordinary doses. In view of the above results it is clear that the differentiation of the two forms by purely clinical means apart from spleen puncture will be a matter of extreme difficulty and will require a study of a much larger series of cases than the present one. The fact that one-third of these cases showed the new parasite is sufficient to prove that it is present in a large proportion of these chronic fevers. On the other hand, in no less than half the cases neither malarial parasites nor the new bodies could be found even by spleen puncture, although all but two of the patients gave a history of fever continuing for a long time up to the date of examination, and chiefly occurring at night or in the evening. It is clear, then, that no more can be said than that the new parasite-like bodies can be found by spleen puncture in a number of chronic fever cases with large spleen

larger proportion of this class of cases, nearly every case of so-called "Malarial Cachexia" having shown the new parasites in the spleen, while they could not be found after deaths from other diseases.



in the Dinajpur district, and that no distinction can at present be made out between the symptoms seen in these cases and in those due to repeated attacks of malaria in which malignant tertian parasites were found.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the nature of the bodies found in the former cases there is little to be said; for in view of the fact that such authorities as Laveran, Ross and Manson are at complete variance as to the classification of them, it is useless to add one more to the opinions already expressed with regard to their nature. I will only say that nothing like a trypanosome was ever seen in any of the cases, either in the peripheral blood or in that drawn direct from the spleen during life. I hope to be able to submit coloured drawings and specimens to high English authorities on protozoa very shortly in the hope that they will be able to throw some light on the question, but in all probability some of the stages of the parasite have still to be discovered. The form most frequently seen is a small oval body slightly longer than it is broad, measuring about one-third the diameter of a red blood corpuscle in its longest axis. It has two nuclei, one of which is small and often rod-shaped and stains deeply, while the other is rounded, considerably larger, but more feebly stained. They are free in the blood from the spleen and in most of the cases are scantily met with, but in exceptional instances, and usually in cases which showed an actual fever at the time the blood was taken, they may be very numerous, a number of them being seen in some fields. In addition to this common form small groups of similar bodies are met with clumped together so as to very closely resemble a quartan sporulating body, some of them being in the act of breaking up. A still earlier stage is sometimes seen in which pairs of unequal sized nuclei are grouped within a single cell, but no separation into the small bodies is yet to be distinguished. These last bodies are somewhat larger than the largest of the simple forms, and appear to be formed by a subdivision of the nuclei of the largest full-grown small forms. I have not been able to detect these bodies in the peripheral circulation by examinations of ordinary blood films, but this would not exclude the possibility of their being present in small numbers there. They may be found within the polynuclear white corpuscles, and be thus undergoing degeneration, which is of interest in connection with the very great reduction of the total leucocytes, and especially of the polynuclears in these chronic fevers which I have previously pointed out.

#### KALA-DUKH AND KALA-AZAR.

In accordance with my instructions to visit the Kala-dukh area of

<sup>1</sup> The differentiation of the continued and remittent fevers of the tropics by the blood changes. *Trans. of the Medical Chir. Soc.*, 1903, and *Lancet*, Volume I, 1903.



Purnea district, I made enquiries from the district authorities as to the parts at present affected by the disease, and was informed by the Civil Surgeon, Captain Hayward, I.M.S., that it was to be found in the north of the Kissenganj subdivision. I wrote to the Subdivisional Officer for information some three weeks before I intended to start for the Purnea district, but did not receive any reply until after my return from a fruitless search for the disease, and then was informed that it had died out of the district. During my visit to the area under the kind guidance of Captain Hayward evidence was obtained of the spread of the disease in a northerly direction, for at Aloobaree it had been present eight years ago, while eight miles further north at Chapra it has disappeared only three years ago. On reaching Thaurganj, 16 miles north-west of the first-named place, search was made for cases in the neighbouring villages which were badly affected by the disease at the time of the enquiry made by Major Harold Brown<sup>1</sup> in 1898, but here we were informed that it had disappeared a year ago, and two persons who had suffered from the disease were shown me, one of which had been free from fever for a year and appeared to be nearly completely recovered from its effects, while the other had had no fever for six months, and but was still thin and his spleen reached nearly to the navel. No cases still suffering from fever could be found, so no spleen punctures could be performed with any hope of finding the new parasite-like bodies.

On the other hand, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Dodds Price of the Nowgong district of Assam (who helped me so materially in my enquiry into the nature of Kala-azar in 1896-97) in very kindly sending me slides made from blood obtained by spleen puncture in seven cases of Kala-azar, I was able to search for the new parasites in these cases. The results are shown in the following table: one slide was spoilt in trying a new fixing agent:—

TABLE IX.—KALA-AZAR CASES.

| No. | Duration of disease. |     | Parasites. |
|-----|----------------------|-----|------------|
| 1.  | 7 months             | ... | Numerous.  |
| 2.  | 3 years              | ... | Ditto.     |
| 3.  | 2 „ improving        | ... | Nil.       |
| 4.  | 5 months             | ... | Numerous.  |
| 5.  | 8 months             | ... | Scanty.    |
| 6.  | 2½ years             | ... | Ditto.     |

NOTE.—This observation has since been confirmed in two further series of slides from Kala-azar cases.

<sup>1</sup> Report on Kala-duk by Major Harold Brown, I.M.S., 1898, and in *Indian Medical Gazette* of 1898.





It will be seen from this table that the new bodies were found in every case except one, which was improving and in which recovery was expected to take place. They were more frequently present in large numbers in this series than in the Dinajpur cases, but no differences in the appearances they presented could be made out in the two series. Since these observations were made a paper by Dr. Bentley, of Assam, has appeared announcing that he has also independently found the Leishman-Donovan bodies in Kala-azar cases, and abandoning the theory he advanced so warmly a little over a year ago that Kala-azar was a severe form of Malta fever.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of these observations lies in the fact which I pointed out several years ago<sup>2</sup> that single cases of the Assam epidemic disease were indistinguishable from cases of ordinary "Malarial Cachexia," so that the discovery that a protozoal parasite (differing from that of malaria and producing the same condition as repeated attacks of malaria causes) is to be found in many cases of "Malarial Cachexia" and in the communicable form of the disease in Assam will fit in with the known facts. So far the new form of parasite has not been found to contain pigment, so that if this is confirmed, then it will be certain that in both the endemic and the epidemic form of the new fever, malaria must be a nearly universal complication, for I showed both in Assam in the case of Kala-azar, and in Calcutta in the case of "Malarial Cachexia,"<sup>3</sup> that melanotic pigment characteristic of malaria is, in my experience, always to be found in the organs *post-mortem* in both series or cases. Possibly it may prove that the new parasites are a secondary infection in patients already infected with malaria, which is so well nigh universal in both Eastern Bengal and Assam, but such points can only be cleared up by further investigations. From the practical point of view the most important inference lies in remembering that quinine in large doses is the only drug which will cure these chronic fevers, although it undoubtedly not infrequently fails in neglected cases. Further, as demonstrated by Dr. Dodds Price, of Nowgong,<sup>4</sup> the drug is undoubtedly an efficient prophylactic against the disease; for while carrying out the segregation measures I

<sup>1</sup> Bentley on Epidemic Malta fever in Assam, *Indian Medical Gazette*, September 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Report on Kala-azar, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> Is malarial cachexia purely malarial? *Indian Medical Gazette*, October 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Note on Kala-azar by Dr. J. Dodds Price. *Indian Medical Gazette*, October 1902.



recommended (which proved eminently successful<sup>1</sup> in getting rid of the infection of coolie lines), he found that his hospital assistants and menials in the Kala-azar camp one after the other contracted and died of the disease. He then took to dosing them regularly with quinine, after which, in the course of several years, he only lost one man, who had become infected before the quinine administration. If it is such a powerful prophylactic it can hardly fail to have curative effects in big doses in early cases of the disease, so that the measures which will be of value in preventing this class of fevers will be the wide distribution of quinine as in malarial fevers.

#### VARIETIES AND DISTRIBUTION OF ANOPHELES.

The facts collected bearing on the presence of malarial-bearing mosquitoes in different parts of the district may next be dealt with. A careful study of this part of the question was first made in Dinajpur town, and subsequently the varieties found in different circles in the district were worked out. As Stephens, Christophers and James have shown that the varieties of anopheles present in any district play a very important part in the etiology of malaria, it is necessary to ascertain the proportion of the different kinds as well as the total number of the anopheles present. Thanks to the recently-published book of the two first-named authors, this is not such a difficult task as it was a short time back. In searching for anopheles it is necessary to ascertain both their breeding places and also the numbers actually met with in the houses of the people. The latter was done with the aid of the Municipal Overseer, who rendered great assistance in the matter. In the month of January, when this survey was carried out, the breeding places were limited to the rivers which run past and through the town, and the tanks within it, which are not very many in number. The former include a very sluggish weed-overgrown stream and a canal of a similar nature, which run through the eastern part of the municipal area, while it is bounded on the west side by the river. There are several good brick-lined drains in the town, but most of the roads still have only earth surface ones, which always retain water and form the most important breeding-ground for anopheles in the rainy season, so that the distribution of the different varieties will be very much more widespread at that time than they were at the time of my inquiry.

In all no less than five varieties of anopheles mosquitoes were

<sup>1</sup> Kala-azar successfully eradicated from tea gardens by segregation measures. *British Medical Journal*, September, 1898, and *Trans. Medical Chir. Soc.*, 1899.



actually caught in the houses. That which was by far the most commonly met was *A. Fuliginosus*, as will be seen from the table below. Next came *A. Rossii*, although this variety was only present in large numbers in the houses near the tanks in the centre of the town. The next most frequently met with was *A. Listoni*, and this is probably the most important of all, for the Malaria Commission<sup>1</sup> found it to be associated with a very high prevalence of malaria in the Duars, where it was the most common anopheles met with and the only one which they found to be naturally infected. It has not hitherto been found south of the Jalpaiguri district as far as I know, so its presence throughout all the most malarious parts of Dinajpur is noteworthy, for although only found in small numbers during my visit from January to March, yet there are good reasons for believing that it may be present in much larger numbers in the rainy fever season. In the first place this variety breeds exclusively in running water, so that its breeding-places in the cold dry season are limited to the streams on either side of the town. In the rainy season, however, there will be numerous flowing streams and earth-lined drains which will afford it adequate breeding-grounds throughout the town. Once more in the Punjab Major Adie<sup>2</sup> has shown that although in the dry season *A. Fuliginosus* is the common anopheles met with, yet in the rainy fever season it is nearly entirely replaced by the *A. Culicifacies*, which belongs to the same group of small dark malaria carrying mosquitoes as does the *A. Listoni* met with in Dinajpur. It is probable, then, that this dangerous variety is much more common in the fever than it is in the dry season. The other two varieties met with in the houses are of much less importance, for they belong to the wild group, which breed in swampy places and rarely enter inhabited houses, while they have never yet been found to be carrying malaria under natural conditions. These are the *A. Barbirostris* and *A. Sinensis*, the latter having only once been found in the houses, although their larvæ were met with not very rarely in weed-grown streams and canals, especially to the east of Dinajpur.

With regard to the breeding-places of these varieties, it may be said that *A. Fuliginosus* was met with in both the streams and also in weed-grown tanks. *A. Rossii* in the tanks most commonly, *A. Listoni* chiefly in the sandy river to the west of the town, especially close to the grassy banks, but they must also have been breeding in the more sluggish stream to the east, as they were caught in the houses of that part of the town. The other two were found in the weedy streams as

<sup>1</sup> Reports of the Malaria Commission of the Royal Society.

<sup>2</sup> Adie, *Indian Medical Gazette*, 1903.



already mentioned. While making collections in the houses in different parts of the town striking differences in the local distribution were met with. Thus, while *A. Rossii* abounded in the central tank strewn portion, and *A. Fuliginosus* and *A. Listoni* near the streams on either side of the town, there was a dry zone between the central and the western portions in which a very careful search failed to reveal a single anophele. Moreover, the more intelligent inhabitants of the riverine portion where most *A. Listoni* were found were convinced that this was the most malarious portion of the town in the rainy season, although this was not evident at the time of my visit in the dry healthy season.

Turning next to the distribution of the anopheles in the district circles, which is illustrated in table X, we find the *A. Fuliginosus* to have been the common variety in all parts of the district in the cold season. *A. Rossii* and *A. Sinensis* were seldom found except in the town of Dinajpur, and *A. Barbirostris* was only occasionally met with. With regard to the malarial carrying *A. Listoni* it is worthy of note that it was not met with in Porsa at the extreme south of the district, this being also the least feverish part, nor could its larvæ be found in the river, which appeared to present favourable conditions for its presence. In Churaman also, which is also comparatively little feverish, I failed to find this variety. It would not be wise to lay too much stress on this point as the distribution of this mosquito might be much more extensive in the malarial season.

TABLE X.—VARIETIES FOUND IN THE HOUSES.

|                            | Dinajpur. | Balughat. | Porsa. | Churaman. | Ranisan-kail. | Total. |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------|-----------|---------------|--------|
| <i>A. Fuliginosus</i> ...  | 178       | 51        | 103    | 106       | 108           | 546    |
| <i>A. Rossii</i> .. ...    | 39        | 5         | ...    | ...       | ...           | 44     |
| <i>A. Listoni</i> ... ..   | 6         | 4         | ...    | ...       | 6             | 16     |
| <i>A. Barbirostris</i> ... | 3         | 1         | ...    | 1         | 8             | 8      |
| <i>A. Sinensis</i> ...     | 2         | ...       | ...    | ...       | ...           | 2      |
| Total ...                  | 228       | 61        | 103    | 107       | 117           | 616    |

*Dissection of Anopheles.*—In addition to ascertaining the varieties of anopheles present in the houses it is also necessary to find out by means of dissections and microscopical examinations of the salivary glands for sporozoits which varieties are actually carrying infection. For this purpose 138 anopheles caught in the houses in Dinajpur were examined for sporozoits, but none were found. Nearly all of them were *A. Fuliginosus*, which was never found to be naturally infected by the





Malarial Commission, although they showed that it can be artificially infected. More recently Major Adie<sup>1</sup> in the Punjab found one of these anopheles to contain sporozoites resembling those of human malaria, but it is clear that it is not a common carrier of the disease. Unfortunately very few *A. Listoni* could be obtained for dissection, and no sporozoites were found in them. This is not surprising, for these dissections were carried out in the cold month of January, and it is well known that a certain temperature is necessary to allow of the development of the malarial parasite in mosquitoes. In a previous paper I showed<sup>2</sup> that the number of cases of malarial fever fell off very rapidly in a suburb of Calcutta as soon as the minimum temperature fell to 60°F., doubtless for the reason just mentioned, and as the minimum temperature in Dinajpur in January was much below that point it is not surprising that no sporozoites could be found. I had hoped to be able to ascertain if the *A. Listoni* was infected when the weather had become warmer again, and just before leaving Dinajpur in the middle of March, I tried to collect the necessary mosquitoes, but they were still as scanty as earlier in the year, so I was not able to obtain them in sufficient numbers for dissection. This point can only be settled in the rainy season, but as Dinajpur is close to Jalpaiguri, where the Malaria Commission found the *A. Listoni* to be infected later in the year than the time of my inquiry, there can be little doubt that this is the variety which is mainly responsible for the prevalence of malaria in Dinajpur and the neighbouring districts, for I also found this species in small numbers in the northwest corner of the Purnea district.

#### THE POSSIBILITY OF DESTROYING ANOPHELES IN LOWER BENGAL.

It will be convenient in this place to discuss the practicability of attempting in Lower Bengal to destroy those anopheles which carry the infection of malaria as a method of malarial prophylaxis. It will be clear from what has been written above that it would be an utter waste of money and labour to attempt to destroy all the different kinds of anopheles, when only one, or possibly two, of them, have been found to carry the disease in nature. Thus, it is now generally admitted from dissections of many hundred *A. Rossii* that these are never found to be naturally infected, although they can be infected by artificial means, and are thus theoretically capable of conveying the disease. For the same reason, we may exclude from our consideration the swamp species

<sup>1</sup> Adie, *Indian Medical Gazette*, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> The seasonal prevalence of anopheles and malarial fever in Lower Bengal and the practical application of the mosquito theory. *Journal of Hygiene*, October 1901.



which very rarely enter houses, and have also not been yet found to be naturally infected. This leaves us with only the *A. Fuliginosus* and *A. Listoni*, the former of which has only once been found naturally infected in the Punjab, while there it almost disappears before the fever season begins. If it proves to have a similar seasonal distribution in Bengal it may also be excluded from consideration as not being of any material importance in the etiology of malaria. Some three years ago a plan for destroying anopheles mosquitoes in Calcutta was initiated under the idea that they only bred in small pools which could be easily dealt with, as suggested by Major Ross. At that time I made a careful search for the breeding-places of anopheles month by month for more than a year in a selected area in a suburb of Calcutta, with the result that I found them<sup>2</sup> to be breeding in enormous numbers in nearly all the tanks during the hot-weather months, that is, at the time of the minimal malarial season. On the other hand, they were much fewer in number during the rainy malarious time, but their distribution was then different, the tanks being free from them, while the chief breeding-places were small pools and more especially the shallow uneven earth drains on each side of every road. Moreover, in these roadside drains varieties of anopheles which can carry malaria were found, whereas those which had swarmed in the tanks at an earlier period were all *A. Rossii*, which we now know<sup>1</sup> are harmless as far as the spreading of malaria is concerned. The measures which were being taken for destroying the *A. Rossii* in the small pools and tanks, then, were only money thrown away as far as malarial prophylaxis was concerned. This example is mentioned to show that great circumspection is required in recommending measures for destroying anopheles in Lower Bengal.

A still more instructive example is that of the measures which have been carried out under the directions of members of the Malaria Commission during the last two years at great expense to test the practicability of destroying anopheles in a portion of the very malarious cantonment of Mian Mir,<sup>2</sup> the results of which have recently appeared. In this place the chief breeding-ground of the malaria-bearing variety was the irrigation canals which traverse the cantonment. The results of these operations will be familiar to the Sanitary authorities, but briefly it may be said that the elaborate measures carried out persistently for two years resulted in only a slight diminution of the number of anopheles in the houses of the treated area. On the other hand, much good was obtained by prophylactic issue of quinine, and still more

<sup>1</sup> Reports of the Malaria Commission of the Royal Society.

<sup>2</sup> Report on anti-malarial measures at Mian Mir. Scientific Memoirs, New Series, No. 6, by S. P. James.



marked effects were got by treating all the children in a syce line in this way, malaria being nearly absent from both the children and the adults. Further, the moving of some syces from their old lines near the canals to one-half a mile or more from them resulted in an entire absence of both the anopheles and of malaria fever among them. That the total destruction of the malaria-bearing mosquitoes will prevent the fever is certain, but experience in India has proved that it is only very exceptionally favourable conditions that this measure is practical, while it must be continued indefinitely. Such conditions were met with at Ismalia, where rain falls on but very few days of the year, and certain swamps and pools were easily permanently filled up. Here the resulting reduction of malaria has been most marked, but to attempt to apply this method to the totally different conditions of Lower Bengal and to expect similar results would be utter folly.

In view of the above facts, let us return to the conditions met with at Dinajpur. Here we have the malaria-bearing *A. Listoni* breeding throughout the course of two streams one on either side of the town, and probably also in the rainy season in the numerous subsidiary streams which flow into the main one during that time. To attempt to destroy the larvæ in these rivers throughout the rainy season is obviously utterly impracticable. Something may be done by steadily extending year by year the brick-lined drains through the main streets, so as to do away with the stagnant earth-lined drains, the bottoms of which it is almost impossible to keep sufficiently level to prevent water standing in them. Further within the municipal limits the formation of borrel pits during road-making by the Public Works Department should not be allowed, as at present, for they form excellent breeding grounds in the rainy season. These measures are only applicable to the town itself, and do not touch even the smallest proportion of the total population of the district among whom it is quite clear, then, that some other measure than mosquito destruction must be relied on.

#### THE VILLAGE DISTRIBUTION OF QUININE.

Where it is found impossible to destroy the intermediate host of the malarial parasite, namely, the malaria-carrying varieties of anopheles, the only other practical method of malaria prophylaxis is the destruction of the parasites during their cycle in the human subject. This can only be done by efficient doses of quinine, so that the problem resolved itself into one of devising a practical scheme of village distribution of quinine. It has already been mentioned that the administration of quinine regularly as a prophylactic to the children of a syce line in Mian Mir not only saved nearly the whole of them from



malaria, but was also effective in preventing the infection of any of the adults in the same lines, although these latter took no quinine whatever, because adults are infected by mosquitoes which have first derived the infection from children as a rule. I have also shown in an earlier part of this report that the main death-rate from acute malaria is among children during the few months of the rainy season and immediately afterwards. If these could be adequately treated with quinine as soon as they developed fever (for its prophylactic distribution to children in villages is as yet beyond the region of practical policy), not only would the main source of death-rate from malaria be stopped, but at the same time there would be much less infection among adults, and fever deaths from chronic malaria and from other diseases such as pneumonia, dysentery and phthisis, which so often attack those debilitated by previous malaria.

In discussing this important question we must first consider how far the present agencies for the distribution of quinine meet the necessities of the case. They are the dispensaries, private practitioners and the post-offices. That the dispensaries effect great good by the treatment of fevers with quinine was abundantly evident throughout my inquiry, for in every place where there was a flourishing dispensary the spleen-rate was considerably lower than it was in the neighbouring villages, the differences being much greater than could be accounted for by the position of the dispensary village on a slightly higher and more healthy site in some instances. The difference was most marked among the children of the more intelligent classes, for it was particularly marked among the children attending the larger schools. The most striking example met with was that of a school at Churaman which stood next to the dispensary, for among 31 children only two had any enlargement of the organ, or 6 per cent., by far the lowest rate met with in the district. In this instance I ascertained from both the School Master and the Hospital Assistant that the boys were regularly sent to the dispensary from the school when they were found to be getting fever. In Balughat a very similar state of affairs was found. As it was not uncommon for about one-third of the children attending the school to be down with fever at one time in the rainy season, it is clear that they must, most of them, have been treated during the year. The Civil Surgeon, Captain Megaw, I.M.S., had been struck by this fact before my arrival in the district, and my own experience amply confirms his. The range of such a dispensary unfortunately is seldom more than two or three miles, or five at the outside, so that the quinine distribution of seven dispensaries among the one-and-a-half million persons in the district of Dinajpur is scarcely more than a grain in an extensive sandy



desert, and any practical increase can only be a matter of very slow growth. Private practitioners abound in Dinajpur itself, and although a large proportion of them profess homœopathy, yet they doubtless do some good in the treatment of fevers. In the district itself, however, they are almost a negligible quantity.

Turning next to the post-office distribution I found that there are but 40 post-offices to very nearly 4,000 square miles, or one to every 100 square miles. Further, seven of these are in the same places as a dispensary is situated. During 1903 throughout the whole district only 8,064 packets of the drug were sold among 1,500,000 people, although my enquiries showed that the great majority of the population suffer from fever repeatedly in each year. These figures will suffice to bring home the fact that the infinite majority of the population of Dinajpur, and doubtless of all other malarious districts of Bengal, are beyond the reach of the one drug which will save their lives when attacked by malaria, to say nothing of an infinite amount of suffering and loss, while thousands of children die yearly, whose lives could be saved with absolute certainty if quinine were readily available for their treatment.

My object in laying stress on this fact, which is only too well known, is because my enquiries have led me to believe that something can and ought to be done to remedy this cruel loss of life from malaria, specially among children. Some of the dispensaries do not do all they might, the stock of quinine supplied being often utterly inadequate, while it is occasionally allowed to run perilously low, with the result that it is not dispensed when it should be, as in one case only six drachms were in hand at the time of my visit, but this is a matter for administrative care. Perhaps more quinine would be used if the good an outdoor dispensary does was measured by the amount of quinine dispensed rather than by the number of petty operations performed, but still any improvement thus effected would only touch the fringe of the question. What is really wanted is some system of distribution of the drug in every village. I have discussed with the district postal authorities the possibility of a more extended distribution of the drug through the postal peons on their visits to the villages, and I am of the opinion that something might be done in this direction by giving a small commission to those agents in order to stimulate the sale of the pice packets. Still it appears that many small villages and hamlets may not be visited for weeks at a time by the postman, especially during the rainy fever season when communication is at its worst, and some new agency actually residing in the villages themselves is necessary if any real success is to be obtained. Such an agent should be somewhat more intelligent than the village chaukidar, whose burden is already quite



as much as he can bear, and should also, if possible, be in close touch with the children, whom it is particularly desired to reach. Such a man is the village schoolmaster, for a primary school is now to be found in nearly every village, or group of villages, and it would be to the advantage of the master to get his pupils to take quinine whenever they get fever, for he is interested in keeping up the figures of his attendance-roll, which is greatly affected by absence on account of malarial fever in the rains. I am informed that the masters of the primary schools get only about Rs. 10 a month, so they would not be above accepting a small commission on their sales, which would encourage them to do their best in the matter. The headman of the village might in some cases also be enlisted among the dispensers of quinine. I have spoken to many intelligent natives, both official and unofficial, about this plan, and they have all approved of its being given a trial. Whether it would be advisable to supply packets free to the schools or to sell them below cost-price at first in the most malarious tracts is rather difficult to decide, as it might lead to purchase for the sake of selling again at a higher price, while difficulties might arise when the drug had become sufficiently popularised to make it advisable to raise the price to its cost-point. I think, however, some packets might be supplied free to the schools. This is a matter for the sanitary and administrative authorities to settle, but that some system of village distribution of quinine, among the children more especially, is an urgent necessity if the heavy death-rate from malarial and chronic cachexial fevers is to be lessened, is quite certain, for it is the only practical method of prophylaxis in the swampy mosquito-swarmling tracts of Lower Bengal.

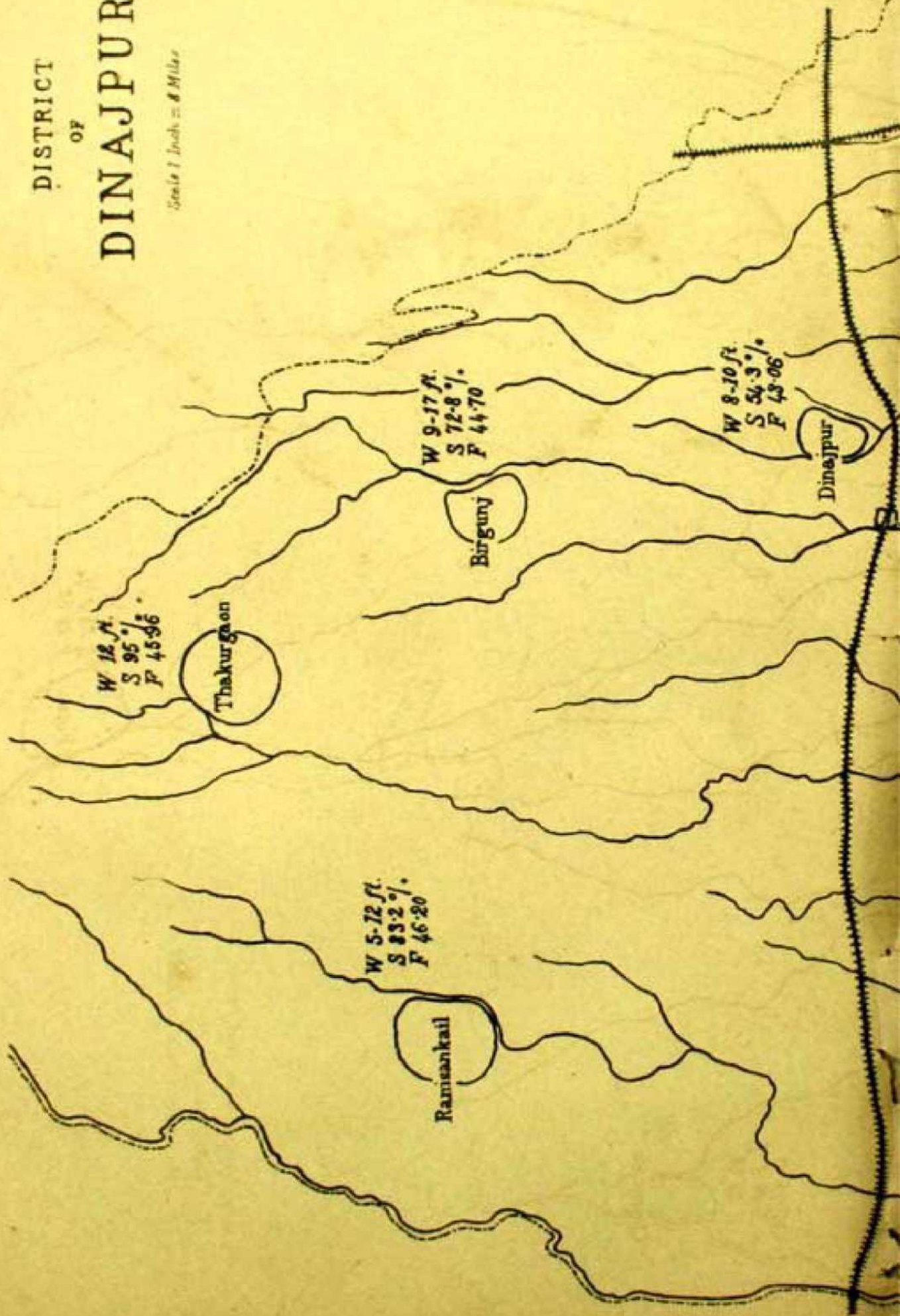
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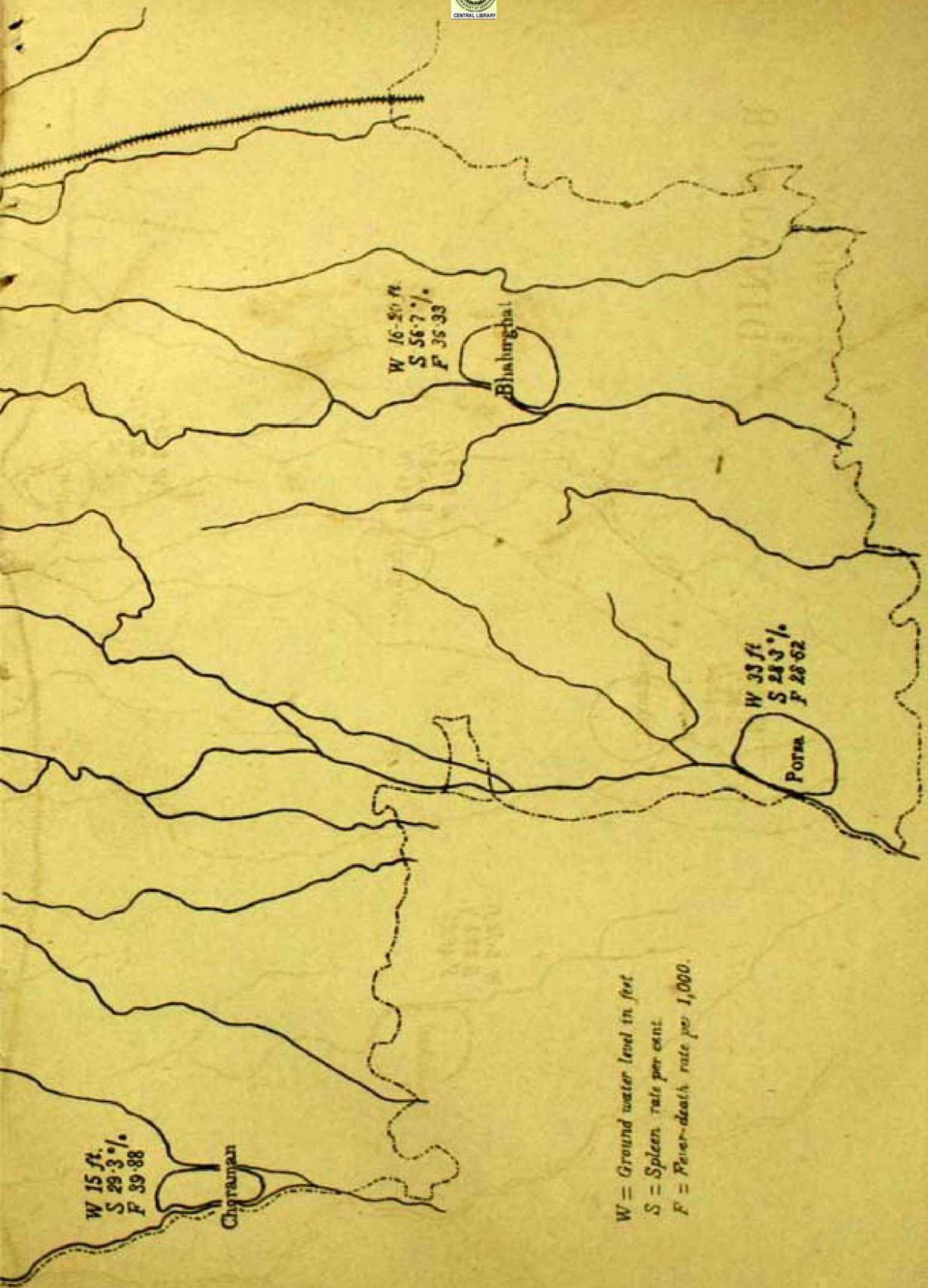


DISTRICT  
OF  
DINAJPUR

Scale 1 Inch = 4 Miles







W = Ground water level in feet  
 S = Spleen rate per cent  
 F = Fever-death rate per 1,000.





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EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease."—SIR WM. JONES.

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